FOREIGN
BROADCAST
INFORMATION
SERVICE

Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-141
Tuesday
25 July 1989

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-141 *25 July 1989*

CONTENTS

ALBANIA

Further Reportage on Korbeci Visit to FRG 1
Korbeci Meets FRG Officials *[ATA]* 1
'Days of Albania' Festival Opens *[ATA]* 1
Plaka Returns After Central American Tour 24 Jul *[ATA]* 1
Continous, Vigorous Drive Against Crime Urged *[Cela in ZERI I POPULLIT 18 Jul]* 1
Districts Report Wheat Reproduction Results *[ZERI I POPULLIT 18-20 Jul]* 3

BULGARIA

Cypriot Students in Sofia Protest Against Turkey *[Sofia Radio]* 5
Gorbachev Speech at Secretaries Meeting Assessed *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 21 Jul]* 5
Bulgarian Leaders Greet Polish Counterparts *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 22 Jul]* 6
BCP Sofia City Committee Plenum Reported *[VECHERNI NOVINI 23 Jul]* 6
Filipov Attends Varna Oblast Committee Plenum *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 22 Jul]* 7
Bulgarian Red Cross Delegation Leader Statement *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 23 Jul]* 7

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Czech Dissidents Meet Solidarity MP's, Talk *[AFP]* 8
Dubcek Meets Solidarity Members *[AFP]* 8
PZPR's Stepien Speaks on 'Currents' in Party *[RUDE PRAVO 21 Jul]* 8
Nemeth, Adamec Statements on Dam Controversy *[RUDE PRAVO 21 Jul]* 10
Editorial Discusses Impatience With Restructuring *[RUDE PRAVO 21 Jul]* 11
Threatening Letters Sent to Appeal's Opponents *[RUDE PRAVO 21 Jul]* 12
Report Issued on Government Plenary Session *[RUDE PRAVO 20 Jul]* 13
Economic Report Released for First Half of 1989 *[CTK]* 14

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

FRG Accuses GDR of Obstructing Normalization *[TANJUG]* 15
Hiring of East Bloc Guest Workers Considered *[Hamburg DER SPIEGEL 24 Jul]* 15

HUNGARY

Rezso Nyers Discusses Economic Reform, Future *[LE MONDE 25 Jul]* 16
Nyers Cited on Need for Coalition Government *[Budapest Radio]* 17
Nyers, Delegation Depart for Moscow Visit *[MTI]* 18
Nemeth Interviewed on Free Elections, Romania *[Hamburg BILD AM SONNTAG 23 Jul]* 18
Horn Cited on Romanian Missile Purchase, Tension *[DER SPIEGEL 24 Jul]* 20
Trade With Romania To Fall 10 Percent in 1989 *[MTI]* 20
Romanians Attempt Border Crossing in Train *[NEPSZABADSAG 21 Jul]* 21
Government Spokesman's 20 July News Conference *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 21 Jul]* 21
PEC Discusses Party Leadership, Elections *[MTI]* 22

POLAND

Jaruzelski Opens Consultations on New Government *[PAP]* 23
President Jaruzelski Receives Congratulations 23
Walesa Sends Greetings *[TRYBUNA LUDU 20 Jul]* 23
TRYBUNA LUDU Hails Jaruzelski *[20 Jul]* 23
Army Daily Conveys Congratulations *[ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI 20 Jul]* 24
Miodowicz Congratulates Jaruzelski *[TRYBUNA LUDU 21-23 Jul]* 25

Miodowicz Views Roundtable Indexation Principles *[PAP]* 25
Opposition Daily Views President Bush's Visit *[Zagrodzka in GAZETA WYBORCZA 11 Jul]* 25
Governmental Agreements Signed With United States *[TRYBUNA LUDU 18 Jul]* 26
General Interviewed on Upcoming U.S. Visit *[PAP]* 26
Kohl Orders Suspension of Talks With Poland *[SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG 20 Jul]* 27
Comment on FRG 'Revanchism' 27
Western Border Debate in FRG 'Disgraceful' *[Lulinski in TRYBUNA LUDU 19 Jul]* 29
Unnamed GDR Opposition Member Interviewed *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 12 Jul]* 30
Commission To Promote Links With Poles Abroad *[Warsaw Radio]* 30
PAP Reports EEC Food Aid Approval 31
Baka Commission Adopts Position on Economy *[PAP]* 31
Farmers Announce Strike Alert, Block Roads *[Wroclaw Radio]* 31
Authorities Statement on Auschwitz Controversy *[PAP]* 31

ROMANIA

Three Athletes Defect, Request Training in Sweden *[AFP]* 33
Ceausescu Sends Congratulations to Jaruzelski *[SCINTEIA 21 Jul]* 33
Ceausescu, Dascalescu Note Polish National Day *[SCINTEIA 22 Jul]* 33
Ceausescu Greets Mubarak on Egypt's National Day *[SCINTEIA 23 Jul]* 34
Ceausescu Meets Constanta County Party Leaders *[AGERPRES]* 34
Ceausescu Addresses Group *[AGERPRES]* 34
GNA's Giosan Receives Brazil Parliamentarians *[SCINTEIA 21 Jul]* 35
Aircraft Industry Export Achievements Reviewed *[AGERPRES]* 35

YUGOSLAVIA

5,000 Citizens Attend Nevesinje Protest Meeting *[Belgrade Radio]* 37
More on Protest Meeting *[TANJUG]* 37
Korosec, Skundric Talk With Afghan Official *[TANJUG]* 37
Drnovsek Addresses Newly Graduated Army Officers *[TANJUG]* 37
Bulk of Federal Budget Allocated for Army Use *[Kesic in BORBA 19 Jul]* 39
Assembly President Views Inflation, Consequences *[TANJUG]* 40
SAWPY Presidium Protests Price Increases *[TANJUG]* 40
Government Discusses Foreign Currency Market *[TANJUG]* 40
Committee Reveals Number of Political Prisoners *[TANJUG]* 40
'Verbal Offenses' Not Imprisonable *[TANJUG]* 41
Civil Rights Activist Calls for Tourism Boycott
[Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU 24 Jul] 41
Markovic Speaks on Importance of Adriatic Highway *[BORBA 17 Jul]* 41
Markovic Talks to Kosovo Leaders in Pristina *[TANJUG]* 42
Article Views 'Propaganda War' Against Serbia *[Radevic in POLITIKA 16 Jul]* 43
Report on Bosnian, Serbian Republics Meeting *[BORBA 19 Jul]* 44
BORBA Views Alternative Political Parties *[18 Jul]* 45

Further Reportage on Korbeci Visit to FRG

Korbeci Meets FRG Officials

AU2507081789 Tirana ATA in English
0740 GMT 25 Jul 89

[Text] Tirana, July 25 (ATA)—On July 24, the premier of Bavaria, Max Steibl, received the Minister of Foreign Trade of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Shane Korbeci, who is taking part in the activity "Days of Albania" in Munich.

In the meeting, which passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere, opinions were exchanged on the further possible intensification of the trade relations and the economic, industrial, and technical cooperation with the Land of Bavaria and with the FR of Germany.

On July 24 too, talks were conducted between the Minister of Foreign Trade, Shane Korbeci, and the Minister of Economy and Transport of Bavaria, Dr Lang. During this meeting, they talked on the extension of the trade relations and the materialisation of the agreements of cooperation between the two countries.

Besides, the Albanian minister of foreign trade had a meeting with the Parliamentary Secretary of State in the Federal Ministry of Economy, Dr Riedl, with whom he had a talk. They expressed the common desire to promote the economic cooperation between the PSR of Albania and the FR of Germany.

Attending these meetings was also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Albania in Bonn, Shpetim Caushi.

'Days of Albania' Festival Opens

AU2507084489 Tirana ATA in English
0744 GMT 25 Jul 89

[Text] Tirana, July 25 (ATA)—Under the auspices of the Ministry of Economy and Transports and of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry for Munich and Upper Bavaria, in cooperation with the Chamber of Commerce of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, the activity "Days of Albania", as well as the exhibition with Albanian export goods opened in Munich on July 24.

Attending were the Minister of Economy and Transports of Bavaria, Dr Lang; the Parliamentary Secretary of State at the Federal Ministry of Economy, Dr Riedl; the General Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry for Munich and Upper Bavaria, Dr Wimmer; and officials of the Federal Ministry of Economy, of the Ministry of Economy and Transports of Bavaria, etc. Present were also representatives of the trade firms of the FR of Germany and the Land of Bavaria, representatives of the press and radio-television, as well as representatives of the diplomatic corps.

On this occasion, the Minister of Economy and Transports of Bavaria, Dr Lang, spoke. He appreciated the positive development of the relations between the FR of Germany and Albania and pointed to the concrete possibilities existing in the field of economic-trade cooperation between the two countries. On his part, the Minister of Foreign Trade, Shane Korbeci, estimated the good work of the organizers of the activity and the possibilities it creates to make known the economic development of Albania and the further development of economic and trade cooperation between the two countries.

Attending this ceremony was Shpetim Caushi, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PSR of Albania in Bonn.

The Bavarian radio-television and press and that of the FR of Germany broadcast news on this activity.

Plaka Returns After Central American Tour 24 Jul

AU2507095689 Tirana ATA in English
0916 GMT 25 Jul 89

[Text] Tirana, July 25 (ATA)—The Albanian delegation led by the For gn Deputy Minister Sokrat Plaka, which attended the celebration of the 10th anniversary of the triumph of the people's revolution in Nicaragua and paid a friendly visit to Mexico, returned home, on July 24.

Continous, Vigorous Drive Against Crime Urged

AU2407200589 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian
18 Jul 89 p 3-4

[Article by Aranit Cela, president of the Supreme Court: "Strengthening Our United Front Against Lawbreakers"]

[Text] Our country's continual economic, political, and social development, the growing unity of the people around the party, and the resulting greater strength of our socialist state have created the necessary conditions for positive trends toward perfecting our judicial position. Albania today is a state where order and tranquility reign, and where crime and lawlessness in general are increasingly under the control of, and are opposed by, the whole of society. In the earliest years of the people's power, Comrade Enver Hoxha said, "The party cannot and will not permit signs of lawlessness or violations of the law...."

During the last few decades, the general trend in crime and other breaches of the law has been downward, apart from a few fluctuations occasionally observed in certain kinds of crime. In this field, according to official data, our country's low crime rate places it among the forefront in Europe. In the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, such ugly phenomena as mobs, kidnapping, theft, and rape, which are extremely common in bourgeois-revisionist countries, either do not exist, or are rare

events of little importance in the crime statistics. Albania is perhaps the only state in the world without organized, professional crime. As a result, the number of punishments meted out by the state is very limited in comparison with the countries around us and the majority of European countries in general.

However, as the party teaches us where crime and breaches of the law in general are concerned, there can be no cause for complacency. Such antisocialist phenomena are still visible among us, and sometimes to no small degree. Cases of damage, abuse, and misappropriation in the economy, which head the crime list, are particularly worrying. However, such acts as assaults, grievous bodily harm, and misuse of office, although they are more rare, also merit attention. At present, these antisocialist phenomena, despite the political, economic, and social damage they cause, do not in their extent or seriousness pose any immediate threat to the state or society. The greater danger is that these negative phenomena "that originate in many social, psychological, and moral factors, but especially in the intensity of the class struggle in various areas of national life" can, if they are not continually and relentlessly opposed, doubtless lead to society's degeneration and its decline into the capitalist morass. In order to prevent this, and "so that socialism can progress without hindrance," as Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed at the recent Politburo meeting, "all forces of society, led by the party, must intensify their struggle against lawbreakers."

The first problem is to involve everybody in the struggle against antisocialist phenomena, whether they are outright crimes or other infringements of the law, especially in connection with the protection of socialist property.

Party bodies and organs and other mass organizations must strike a proper balance between production and protecting production. It is not that nothing is being done to protect, manage, and distribute the material goods produced by the sweat and labor of the people, but that this struggle is inadequate, intermittent, and sometimes formalistic, and that this important field of activity is not always planned and organized. It was precisely such a failure of work management and organization in the Diber branch of the State Bank, and especially a misguided method of control over its subsidiaries and a lack of vigilance on the part of communists of the basic organization and organs of the state in the village of Muhur, that enabled the chief teller Agim Lala and others to embezzle the state's money for more than 6 successive years. Of course, the Directorate of the State Bank, whose inspection of accounts here was superficial and purely formal, cannot avoid its share of responsibility.

There are similarities here with the struggle against antisocialist phenomena in interpersonal relations. Quarrels and conflicts of various kinds that lead to assaults and sometimes murders occur in villages, town districts, and workplaces. As we know from experience, these can usually be avoided when society intervenes. The party has always demanded that state bodies, the mass organizations, and the organs of justice and internal affairs should always be responsible for identifying and reconciling arguments and quarrels of various kinds. Unfortunately, it must be emphasized that this struggle, which directly affects the unity of the people and is an important factor in reducing crime, has slackened recently. This has been the reason for certain incidents that have taken place in Mirdite, Fier, Korce, and elsewhere. It was precisely such negligence and absence of vigilance and attention on the part of the basic organization, communists, the People's Council, and the mass organizations of the village of Kotec in Tropoje District, that led to the horrible murder committed by Kol Fasllia. This case is still less excusable, because members of the victim's family had reported their concern to the appropriate authorities more than once.

Creating a united front in the struggle against crime and other infringements of the law and involving everybody in this battle should not be understood as something optional and subject to people's inclination. The party, the state, and society have entrusted state bodies and the mass organizations with the duty to fight for the observance of socialist law and the maintenance of our judicial order in general, as necessary preconditions for socialist development and the defense of the homeland.

Crimes or other acts of lawlessness in any enterprise or institution should be seen as exceptional events that inevitably call for careful analysis. In such cases, managers and other people in authority in these workplaces cannot avoid legal, moral, or social responsibility. It is precisely this principle that is sometimes not properly understood, and, as a result, not acted upon. Of course, factors that party and mass organizations, working collectives, and judicial organs must combat, such as cronyism, nepotism, interventions of other kinds, and liberal attitudes, have also had their effect, by softening demands for accountability and failing to hold people to their responsibilities.

Tightening state and social control is an important factor in preventing, detecting, and punishing crime and infringements of the law in general. Supervision on the part of the competent ministries, at district level, and within enterprises themselves must be more active and effective, bearing in mind the opportunities that objectively exist. To attain this, this form of control must be less superficial, formalistic, and sporadic than it has sometimes been, and must in particular be persistent and resistant to all attempts at compromise. Shortcomings of precisely this kind have characterized tours of inspection by the relevant bodies in Durres, where brazen violations of the law and cases of misappropriation and malpractice on the part of working people of the industrial retail network escaped detection for 3 years. It was necessary for state control bodies to submit evidence of this criminal activity and to bring the culprits to justice. Similarly, the control bodies in the Ministry of Finances

and the Ministry of Food cannot be excused for the failure to detect, during a period of 8 years, the dozens of forged documents and cases of large-scale misappropriation now laid at the door of Nazif Tuga and the group compromised by him in the Tirana Wholesale Enterprise, where many tours of inspection were carried out, but whose reports had nothing to say. In this instance, one cannot fail also to mention the communists, mass organizations, and state authorities of Sauk near Tirana, who relaxed their vigilance, and remained indifferent to the dissipated life of orgies and unjustifiable extravagance that this vagabond led before their very eyes.

As Comrade Enver always instructed, nothing can replace workers control. Experience shows that workers control is highly effective in the struggle against lawlessness when it is organized and managed well.

The education of the individual remains the principal factor in the struggle against antisocialist phenomena in our society. Life shows us more clearly every day that our cultured people, raised according to the standards of socialist morality, are the best and most determined guardians of these standards and of the party line in general. Of course, it is violators of the state's law and those who commit crimes who are most in need of supervision, education, and attention. On the other hand, it is also in the interests of the working collectives of our socialist country to return such people to the right path. "It is in our interest," Comrade Ramiz Alia says, "to protect our people from illegal activities, because this is the way to preserve the moral purity of society." It is the party that takes the lead in our educational work, but the party carries out this work with the help of its instruments. Cooperation between the mass organizations and the organs of justice must be more effective, especially in the case of faltering members of our society. Educational work should not be standardized, stereotyped, and stale. Variety in educational methods is the key to their effectiveness. Our people's fine and long-standing traditions must be used here. Denouncing culprits within the family circle, their villages, districts, or apartment blocks, or prominently displaying reports of such cases in workplaces and residential areas, are highly effective ways of educating both the culprits themselves and other people with similar tendencies. The courts, the procurator, the prosecutor, and the internal affairs organs in particular should use these forms of education with more skill and subtlety. It would also do no harm for some minor cases that are at present handled by the courts, to be placed in the hands of working collectives in enterprises and agricultural cooperatives, whose influence on character formation is many times greater.

Of course, crime and lawlessness cannot be prevented by educational work alone, although, as has been said, this constitutes the principal method under the conditions of our socialist country. Educational work and propaganda must necessarily be accompanied by the necessary technical and organizational measures. The creation, a few years ago, of special task forces against crime in the districts, especially Tirana, has produced very good results. It is now a question of creating such forces as the basis in villages and town districts. Such problems as education, finding work for people, organizing their leisure well, especially that of young people, and, in the economic field, such matters as the sound organization of production work, a strict regard for documentation, and the enforcement of definite criteria in the appointment of cadres to positions of financial responsibility, are also particularly important in strengthening the judicial order, and not only alleviate the need for educational work but also have an educational aspect themselves.

Experience shows that the use of methods of compulsion on the part of the state is and will remain necessary in the fight against crime and all kinds of lawlessness, and in order to defend society and our socialist order. In our country, these measures have an educational function and play a considerable role in rehabilitating people who have carried out socially dangerous acts. As our party has always instructed, the problem is to always maintain a correct balance between these measures and methods of enlightenment and persuasion, which always take priority, so that methods of compulsion, especially penal measures, should only be used when they are necessary and to the appropriate degree. In this context, our judicial organs, in properly performing the duties entrusted to them by the party, must unhesitatingly combat both sectarian and liberal attitudes.

The jubilee of the 45th anniversary of the liberation finds our country successful and progressing in all areas of life. Our strong judicial order is one of these magnificent achievements, guaranteeing the development of socialism and freedom and full rights for all our working people.

Districts Report Wheat Reproduction Results

AU2507102889

[Editorial Report] Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian on 18-20 July on page 1 carries 800-word, ATA-attributed reports on harvest and economic results from the districts of Kruje, Gjirokaster, and Durres.

The paper of 18 July reports that a plenum of the Kruje Albanian Workers Party [AWP] District Committee has sent a letter to Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary, reporting that the district has exceeded its wheat production plan and has fulfilled its wheat delivery plan. The report states that "on 2,053 hectares, to which special attention was devoted, a yield of more than 42 quintals per hectare was achieved, and high yields of 55-70 quintals per hectare were obtained on 370 hectares of this area." The report also states that Kruje District has exceeded its 6-month general industrial production plan by 1.7 percent, with above-plan production worth 6.6 million leks, and has exceeded its export plan for the same period by 5 percent.

The paper of 19 July reports a letter to Alia from a plenum of the Gjirokaster AWP District Committee, which reports that the district has exceeded its wheat production plan by 2 percent, and has fulfilled its wheat delivery plan. The report states that "by achieving an average yield of 32.8 quintals per hectare, compared with a planned yield of 32.2 quintals, more than 4,000 quintals above the plan were produced. It is to be emphasized that this is the fourth year in a row that this district has exceeded its wheat plan." The report goes on to state that "many brigades with high yields,... under the new remuneration system, will be awarded bonuses at the end of the year of 1,400-2,500 leks per member from above-plan wheat production alone." The report also states that the district has exceeded its 6-month general industrial production plan by 3 percent and its export plan by 3 percent. According to the report, the rural areas of Gjirokaster District were supplied with 90 kg of milk per member of the population in the 6-month period, of which 50 kg were for consumption as fresh milk and 40 kg for processing.

The paper of 20 July reports a letter sent to Alia by a plenum of the Durres AWP District Committee, which reports that the district has fulfilled its wheat production plan by 99.1 percent, producing 64,360 tonnes, or 640 tonnes below the plan, and that the wheat delivery plan has been fulfilled. The report states that a yield of 39.3 quintals per hectare was obtained, and that wheat production was 113,000 quintals higher than in 1988. The report also states that Durres District has exceeded its 6-month general industrial production plan by 2.9 percent, that the value of the district's production was 48 million leks higher than in the same period in 1988, and that above-plan production in the 6-month period was worth 22.4 million leks. The 6-month export plan was exceeded by 4.9 percent.

Cypriot Students in Sofia Protest Against Turkey

AU2407142789 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] At this moment in Sofia's Tolbukhin Boulevard, in front of the Turkish Embassy building, a group of Cypriot students who are studying in Bulgaria have gathered. They are carrying slogans demanding the immediate release of Cypriot women who have been arrested at a demonstration at the green line in Nicosia, and who have demanded peace and an immediate end to the illegal occupation of the northern part of the island. The students are demonstrating against the constant practice of violating human rights conducted by the officials of the self-appointed Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, recognized only by Ankara. Petko Georgiev has just entered our studio after returning from the demonstration. Here is part of the recording he made at the Turkish Embassy:

[Begin recording] Andreas: My name is [word indistinct] Andreas, a Cypriot student in Bulgaria. Our demonstration is a protest against the Turkish occupation forces in the northern part of the island which has been continuing since 1973, and the arrest of 100 Greek Cypriot women which took place Wednesday evening, when they were marching along the green line in Nicosia, protesting against the occupation policy of Turkey toward the Cypriot people.

Georgiev: You are carrying slogans and, something I find somewhat strange, carnations. What do the carnations symbolize?

Andreas: Yes, carnations because the Cypriot people want to live in peace. Before the Turkish forces invaded Cyprus the Greek and Turkish Cypriots lived in peace. When the occupation forces divided the Cypriot people, they prevented all possibility of contact. Therefore the carnations symbolize the peace we want in Cyprus. [end recording]

This is the resolution that the Cypriot students want to hand to the Turkish ambassador in Sofia. I shall read a part of it:

The recent events in Cyprus and the hostile attitude of the so-called authorities of Mr Denktas toward the peaceful demonstration of Cypriot women again showed the real policy conducted by the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. Like the entire world, we also know that this so-called republic is based on a constant violation of the human rights of the citizens of the Republic of Cyprus. We demand the immediate release of all men and women, who have been arrested, and the withdrawal of the Turkish forces and settlers from the territory of Cyprus. History shows that we can live in peace with our compatriots, the Turkish Cypriots.

In our evening newscast we will carry a further report on the Cypriot students' demonstration.

Gorbachev Speech at Secretaries Meeting Assessed

AU2407173089 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 21 Jul 89 p 5

[Editorial: "Restructuring Soviet Society is Unthinkable Without Renewing the Party"]

[Text] The party and its new role under conditions of restructuring! At the meeting with the first secretaries of the Central Committees of the CPSU republican, kray, and oblast committees Mikhail Gorbachev pointed out that it is possible to conduct many discussions of the aforementioned topic, however one thing is clear: restructuring would be unthinkable without party work in the theory and ideology of the renewal.

Simultaneously, the following important conclusion was made: The changes in the party are lagging behind the processes that are taking place in society. As a result of this the real danger emerges that its leading role will be weakened. The reason lies in the obsolete methods and style of work. For a long period of time the party was not merely "incorporated" into the administrative-edict system of managing society but placed itself above everything else. Thus it was simpler and easier to lead, however, the basic factor—its role as the political vanguard of society—was lost.

The main thing now is to revitalize the party, and, as pointed out at the Moscow meeting, to analyze in a new way the CPSU's functions and role. The central issue relates to the future mutual relations between the party and the state and economic organs and the public organizations. This is the answer: The Leninist premise on the separation of the functions of the party, the soviets, and the organs of management, remains in force. The politization of society, which will increase during the forthcoming elections of people's deputies in the republican and local soviets, poses the issue of creating a new mechanism of mutual relations between the party and the organs of people's government, as well as the issue of using political methods in influencing their activity.

The old approach is no longer admissible: The party can no longer directly manage the public organizations, because this restricts their independence. This applies first of all to the trade unions. The Communists, who are working in the trade unions, are deeply responsible for the implementation of the tasks, pointed by the working people. In the future the party will also construct its relations with the Komsomol in a new manner. The friendly unity of action of the party and Komsomol committees and organizations, and between Communists and Komsomol members, acquires priority.

Relieving the party structures of extrinsic functions will allow them to turn the ideological functions into the most important direction of the party work. The fact that the transition toward the new economic mechanism was not fully politically and economically prepared was one

of the reasons that the economic reform has not produced the expected results. Therefore, the main thrust now is to consistently advance from directives and instructions to a system of political influence over economy.

The party of the Soviet Communists also directs its attention toward its own ranks, and strictly assesses all its units. A critical self-inspection is to be made by the party committees and organizations. The goal is to decisively discontinue the formal-nomenclature approach in the cadre work, in accordance with the processes of democratization. Those leaders who practically work for restructuring, will be supported. The full-fledged life of the primary party organizations is the key to activating the inner-party activity. Those organizations will obtain a new impetus during the forthcoming accountability-election meetings.

The Soviet society understands that the hope for the success of restructuring and improving life is closely associated with the party's policy and practical activity. The party is charged with the political responsibility for the situation in the country. This responsibility is exceptionally great because of the large scale of the renewal and transformations in the country today.

Bulgarian Leaders Greet Polish Counterparts

AU2407130189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Jul 89 p 1

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and State Council chairman, and Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, have sent the following message to Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] and president of the Polish People's Republic, and to Mieczyslaw Rakowski, chairman of the Council of Ministers:

Dear comrades, on behalf of the Bulgarian people, the party and state leadership of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and on our personal behalf we most cordially greet you on the 45th anniversary of Poland's rebirth.

The establishment of the people's government and the creation of an independent and democratic Polish state outlined a new stage in the Polish people's history. As a result of the PZPR's political line and the striving toward national accord on the part of the different public and political forces, profound processes of democratic transformation and economic reform are taking place in Poland today, aimed at the country's socialist renewal.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria highly values the active and peace-loving policy of the Polish People's Republic, which is in accord with the new political thinking and aims at strengthening cooperation and solidarity among the socialist countries, constructing the common European home, increasing confidence, and developing international dialogue.

We are convinced that the traditional, fraternal friendship and comprehensive cooperation between the BCP and the PZPR and between Bulgaria and Poland will further strengthen and develop on the basis of the fundamental unity of our goals and ideas, for the benefit of the Bulgarian and Polish peoples, and in the interest of socialism, peace, and stability in Europe and the world.

Dear comrades, please accept our most sincere wishes for new successes in the comprehensive progress of socialist Poland.

BCP Sofia City Committee Plenum Reported

AU2407211089 Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian 23 Jul 89 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Plenum of the BCP Sofia City Committee"]

[Text] A plenum of the Sofia City Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] took place on 21 July. It was opened and chaired by Ivan Panev, first secretary of the committee and member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo.

According to the first item on the agenda, the participants were briefed on the meeting between Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and State Council chairman, and Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which took place on 23 June 1989. During the discussion that took place, Nartsis Zlatanov, first secretary of the BCP Lozenets Municipality Committee; Slavcho Nikolov, chairman of the BCP Sofia City Control-Auditing Commission; and Vasil Vasilev, first secretary of the BCP Iskur Municipality Committee, fully supported the premises and conclusions ensuing from the meeting and talks of Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Mikhail Gorbachev.

Stefan Ninov, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Sofia People's Council, briefed the participants on the work related to resolving certain ecological problems in Sofia. (We shall inform our readers about those problems in one of our future issues.) The plenum adopted decisions after the discussion, in which the following participants took part: Penka Krusteva, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Studentska Municipality People's Council; Boncho Bonchev, first deputy chairman of the "Metallurgy" Association; and Lyudmil Grekov, deputy chairman of the Committee on State and People's Control.

Vasil Tsurvenkov and Stanka Shopova were relieved of their posts as members of the Bureau and secretaries of the BCP Sofia City Committee, because of their transfer to other responsible posts.

The plenum elected Asen Arsov, chairman of the Sofia City Committee of the Bulgarian Trade Union, to the post candidate member of the BCP Sofia City Committee and candidate member of the BCP Sofia City Committee Bureau; and Dimitur Bambov, first secretary of the Sofia City Komsomol Committee, was elected candidate member of the BCP Sofia City Committee Bureau.

Atanas Ashminov, chairman of the Committee on Social Activity of the Sofia City People's Council; and Vasil Gadzhanov, VECHERNI NOVINI chief editor, were elected members of the BCP Sofia City Committee. Ivan Granitski, LITERATUREN FRONT deputy chief editor; Nikolay Dankov, first secretary of the BCP Oborishte Municipality Committee; Nikolay Nikolov, secretary of a commission of the BCP Sofia City Committee; and Milcho Milchev, head of the Financial-Economic Sector of the BCP Sofia City Committee, were elected candidate members of the BCP Sofia City Committee.

Filipov Attends Varna Oblast Committee Plenum

AU2407153489 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Jul 89 p 6

[Nikolay Zhelev report: "More and More Diverse Goods and Services For the Population"]

[Excerpts] Varna, 21 July— At the initiative of the Varna Oblast Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] the production of goods and services for the population is an issue that has a special importance. Good results have been achieved so far, but they cannot disperse the concern with the situation in the market, where there is still a shortage of goods. This concern was the reason for the BCP Varna Oblast Committee to discuss at its plenum today the work of the party, state, and economic organs and organizations for ensuring more and more diverse consumer goods and services. The plenum was chaired by Dimitur Dimitrov, first secretary of the committee. Grisha Filipov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Central Committee secretary, took part in the plenum's work. [passage omitted]

Comrade Grisha Filipov read a detailed speech, in which he pointed out that the entire production process must also be directed toward resolving social problems. This approach has asserted itself in world practice. It must be taken into consideration that the production of consumer goods must increase 20 percent during the current year.

It is necessary to stop underestimating the role of the market. There cannot be a real consumption without creating a real market which is an integral part of the world market, the speaker pointed out. Simultaneously, we must struggle for a balanced market, and this can be achieved only if it becomes the concern of all companies and enterprises in the oblast and the country. [passage omitted]

Bulgarian Red Cross Delegation Leader Statement

AU2507082289 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 23 Jul 89 p 2

[Statement by Kiril Ignatov, leader of the Bulgarian Red Cross delegation to Istanbul Balkan Red Cross Conference, in response to a question by Geo Neshev, RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondent: "Lies Are Dangerous Boomerangs," on 22 July in Sofia]

[Text] Sofia Airport, 22 July.

Late yesterday the delegation of the Bulgarian Red Cross, which took part in the work of the Eighth Balkan Conference of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Organizations, returned to Bulgaria from Istanbul. Dr Kiril Ignatov, leader of the delegation, made the following statement for our readers in response to a question of Geo Neshev, RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondent:

"As is already known in Bulgaria, for reasons beyond our control, the Bulgarian delegation was prevented from participating in the first day of the conference. We did not receive on time our entrance visas from the Turkish Embassy in Sofia in time. After the intervention of the International Committee of the Red Cross we, as is well known, received our visas with considerable delay, and arrived in Turkey late on 18 July. We proceeded straight to the hotel. There we found the participants in the conference; Mario Vilyaroel [spelling of name as transliterated], president of the National Red Cross and Red Crescent Associations; and Cornelio Sommaruga, president of the Red Cross International Committee. They greeted us with respect. They did not expect us to arrive. The Turkish side tried to explain what happened by saying that a mistake had been made at the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but it was obvious that this was not true. Indeed, they could not explain the "mistake."

The Bulgarian delegation actively joined the work of the conference. In separate talks we had with various participants we sensed the respect our delegation enjoyed. Many journalists showed great interest in us. We answered all their questions. Some newspapers correctly reported my answers. However this is not what the ANATOLIA Agency did. It reported my interview in a mostly incorrect manner and showed an elementary bias. I shall again repeat and stress what I answered in response to the question about the so-called "mysterious vaccinations." This is a lie. Relying on my 50-year experience as a doctor I can say that nowhere in the world has there been created a vaccination that causes sterility in women and girls. In conclusion I pointed out that nobody has been forced to leave our country. All Bulgarian citizens are a united entity."

Czech Dissidents Meet Solidarity MP's, Talk

AU2407105489 Paris AFP in English
1022 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] Prague, July 24 (AFP)—Five members of the Polish Solidarity union, including three opposition members of parliament, are in Czechoslovakia for talks with former leader Alexander Dubcek and other Czechoslovak dissidents encouraged by Poland's political reform.

The five, who arrived in Prague last Thursday are MPs: Adam Michnik, Zbigniew Janas and Jan Lipinski plus Zbigniew Bujak and Miroslaw Jasinski, Czechoslovak dissident sources said Monday.

They have had talks with representatives of several Czechoslovak independent groups, including Charter-77, the main dissident movement set up to monitor compliance with the Helsinki human rights accords.

The talks held at the homes of two Czechoslovak dissidents, Jan Urban and Jiri Dienstbier, centered on "the new political situation in the Warsaw Pact countries", participants said.

The two sides agreed on and signed at the weekend, a document underlining the "inspirational role of the Polish roundtable for the political evolution of Czechoslovakia".

The joint statement also called for the immediate release of political prisoners in Czechoslovakia.

It was signed by all five Solidarity members plus a freelance Pole, Krystyna Krauze and by 10 Czechoslovaks: Rudolf Battek, Jiri Dienstbier, Ladislav Lis, Vaclac Maly, Petr Pospichal, Jan Ruml, Jaroslav Sabata, Petr Uhl, Hana Holcnerova and Anna Sabatova.

On Friday, the Polish visitors, were taken by Czech priest Father Vaclav Maly of Charter-77, to visit Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek, the Archbishop of Prague and the Roman Catholic Primate of Czechoslovakia.

Msgr Tomasek said he "greatly appreciated Polish Catholics' interest and support" for the Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia and urged them to keep Poles informed about the situation of the Czechoslovak Church.

On Sunday, the Solidarity militants paid a visit to dissident playwright Vaclav Havel in eastern Bohemia.

The three Polish MPs were to travel to Bratislava Monday for a meeting with Alexander Dubcek, the former Czechoslovak communist party chief ousted after the ill-fated Prague Spring reform period in 1968.

Among those present will be Jan Urban of Charter-77, who belongs to the Obroda (renaissance) political club grouping former Communist reformers expelled from the party after the Prague Spring.

Dubcek Meets Solidarity Members

AU2507074789 Paris AFP in English
0545 GMT 25 Jul 89

[Text] Prague, July 25 (AFP)—Three members of the Solidarity union in Poland's parliament met Monday with former Prague Spring reform leader Alexander Dubcek for three hours of talks focusing on the political situation in Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, and possible future developments, dissident sources said here.

Mr Dubcek and his guests—Adam Michnik, Zbigniew Janas and Jan Litynski—called the invasion of Warsaw Pact troops in Czechoslovakia in August 1968 which effectively ended Mr Dubcek's reforms "unacceptable and illegal", the sources said. The invasion lead to his downfall the next year.

Mr Michnik briefed the former party leader on his visit to Moscow earlier this month, the first by a Solidarity member holding an official position.

He also interviewed Mr Dubcek for Solidarity's daily GAZETA WYBORCZA. The 43-year-old historian is chief editor of Poland's first opposition newspaper.

The meeting took place in Bratislava, capital of Slovakia, at Mr Dubcek's home.

On Sunday, the three parliamentarians and two other Solidarity trade unionists, Zbigniew Bujak and Miroslaw Jasinski, had a 15-hour meeting with dissident playwright Vaclav Havel at his country home in eastern Bohemia, the sources said.

Mr Bujak flew back to Warsaw after spending the night at Mr Havel's home while Mr Jasinski returned to Prague to discuss "technical and organisational questions" of the "Poland-Czechoslovakia Solidarity" grouping, the sources said.

The three parliamentarians were returning to Poland by road Tuesday after their meeting with Mr Dubcek.

PZPR's Stepien Speaks on 'Currents' in Party

AU2407221989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
21 Jul 89 p 7

[Interview with Marian Stepien, secretary of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee, by Dalibor Macha in the "Our Guest" column—place, date not given]

[Text] A few days ago, Comrade Stepien paid a visit to Czechoslovakia, where he met with our highest party representatives and briefed them, among other things, on the activity of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] after the recent elections.

[Macha] You have mentioned that the PZPR will do everything to be more successful in the next parliamentary elections in 1993, and thus make up for the defeat it suffered last June. How do you want to achieve that?

[Stepien] The opposition is preparing for absolutely free elections; it plans its even greater success. We must not waste the coming four years; we lost more years than that in the past. I hope that after the political lesson of the June elections, our party will muster its strength. The second part of the 13th Central Committee session, which will be held around 26-27 July, will initiate a profound discussion prior to the 11th party congress that has been moved up.

[Macha] And when will that be the case?

[Stepien] Some people want it as early as this year, but that does not seem realistic to me. I rather think that it will be held in the first half of 1990.

[Macha] Perhaps you can already guess what that discussion will outline....

[Stepien] What is involved is the future likeness of the party, that is to say its form. Its program, its statutes will be discussed, one even talks about changing its name....

[Macha] But also about splitting it....

[Stepien] Yes, but that is not a happy thought.

[Macha] However, as we have found out, there are quite a few plans; does not the party's unity get lost? Allegedly, there has even been a proposal to reshape it in the direction of the social democracy type.

[Stepien] I spoke about this during my meeting with Comrade [Presidium member and secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Jan] Fojtik. To put it concisely: Nowadays, one can distinguish four main currents within the PZPR. The first one strives for reliable improvements, adjustments within the party; in essence, after a certain revision it would like to preserve the existing state. It has no intention of changing fundamental things. The second, again, thinks that the party must be disbanded, because, allegedly, it has outlived its purpose. They would like a new party. The opinion of the third group is that the party must be split. To express it in simple terms, it is in favor of two independent, two different parties. According to such notions, the first party would be close to social democracy, the second would be communist. The proponents of the fourth current want neither to split nor disband the party, but demand carrying out profound changes in it.

[Macha] Which line do you personally favor?

[Stepien] The last one.

[Macha] Could you define it?

[Stepien] Not in detail, not yet. To express it in general terms, we want a reformed party, which will stand somewhere between social democracy and the positive traditions of the Communist Party.

[Macha] Which one of the four currents enjoys the greatest support?

[Stepien] The fourth one has the support of the central party leadership. I think that it will win over most opponents.

[Macha] Why?

[Stepien] For example, because the present political opposition wishes for nothing more than to split the PZPR, to see it disintegrate, or simply disband. And we must not allow this to happen. We are asserting—within certain limits—various views and ideas within one party, such as the PZPR today.

[Macha] But how can one at the same time fight for a party's unity and profound reforms?

[Stepien] This is the complication. We must seek solutions that would preserve unity and, at the same time, promote the line of reforms. It might be that some members will leave the reformed party with the conviction that it is no longer "theirs". Others, who left the party in the years past, might return to it or take positions which would be close to it.

[Macha] What can you say about relations between the party, respectively the government coalition, and the opposition? Is that competition or confrontation?

[Stepien] In essence, this is confrontation under an unconfrontational mantle. In accordance with the roundtable principles, we called confrontation-free elections. But life, not agreements, had decided. The opposition made the elections a confrontational affair. It appealed to strike out all but its own candidates. Also, the church became greatly engaged on Solidarity's side, which—as I know Poland—was of fundamental importance.

[Macha] What lesson has the PZPR drawn from this?

[Stepien] We made mistakes already when organizing the election campaign. One must know how to win people over, how to proceed more boldly, with greater courage. And to tell the truth about the opposition as well. In the elections, our party was nothing but elegant, avoiding personal reproaches and attacks, whereas the opposition went on full blast. The party paid a bill for the whole 45 years, including the errors of our precedents. Our defeat is a fact, but our praise is that we are at the head of a democratic movement.

[Macha] But that democratic force lost....

[Stepien] True. The democratized party clashed with the totalitarian ideas of the opposition, its violent intentions, and elicited emotions. Under this influence, people went to vote and did not look to whom they gave their vote; they simply voted for symbols.

[Macha] You mean Solidarity?

[Stepien] The following comparison is going around. If the Lord himself ran in the elections and did not have Solidarity's logo, he certainly would not win. Some people were even poking fun, saying that even a cow—with the Solidarity logo—could be a candidate, and would certainly win.

[Macha] You elected the President in your country, you are concluding another important stage....

[Stepien] Everything has only just begun. The President must appoint a Premier—after thorough consultations with the Parliament's clubs. Then the formation of the government will begin. There are complications and difficulties ahead of us. Each day brings with itself the opposition's further demands. But the opposition has problems, too; some of them would like to already have the power and the government in their hands, others want it gradually.

[Macha] Thus far, President Jaruzelski also holds the post of First Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee.

[Stepien] I do not think it would be a bad idea for the general to keep both functions until the 11th Congress. For us, Jaruzelski is a stabilizing factor. The problems and differences that exist within the party will become better resolved when he is at the head.

[Macha] Thank you for the interview.

Nemeth, Adamec Statements on Dam Controversy

AU2407115589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Jul 89 pp 1,7

[Report by RUDE PRAVO correspondent Vojtech Vesely: "CSSR Premier's Friendly Working Visit to the Hungarian People's Republic; Decision on the Nagymaros Dam By the End of October"]

[Excerpt] Budapest (Our Correspondent)—CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec arrived by air for a 1-day friendly working visit to Budapest on Thursday morning [20 July]. He was received by Rezso Nyers, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party. Afterward, he held talks with Miklos Nemeth, premier of the Hungarian People's Republic.

Members of the two countries' delegations also held talks—Pavel Hrivnak, CSSR deputy premier and premier of the Slovak Socialist Republic, with Peter Medgyessy, deputy premier of the Hungarian People's Republic; and Jaromir Johanes, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, with his Hungarian counterpart, Gyula Horn. The members of the delegations also held a joint session which was attended, among others, by the ambassadors of the two countries, Miklos Barity and Vlastimil Ehrenberger, as well as by the two commissioners for the water-works system, Laszlo Udvari and Vladimir Lokvenc. After a brief sightseeing tour in Budapest in the afternoon, Comrade Ladislav Adamec and other Czechoslovak representatives returned home the same day.

The most important item on the agenda was the assessment of the situation which has arisen around the construction of the Nagymaros sector of the system of hydro projects on the Danube, following the Hungarian Government's decision of 13 May to halt the work until some risk factors involving the ecology and the water economy have been thoroughly studied. It was a task for a 60-member group of scientists from the two countries to resolve, but after a 3-day discussion the group disbanded on Wednesday [20 July] with differing standpoints on the most important problems. The Czechoslovak side considers that the the Hungarian side's objections have already been resolved by the project or will eventually be resolved in the course of construction, whereas Hungarian scientists say that continuation of the construction of Nagymaros is irresponsible without a clarification of the issues they put forward.

After the plenary deliberations of the delegations, the premiers held a press conference on the issues discussed.

M. Nemeth's Statement

I inform you that I had a thorough, one-on-one exchange of views with Comrade Adamec on issues pertaining to the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydro project. The remaining members of the delegations discussed economic and political issues, experiences, and other objectives of our cooperation. We agreed that we will continue those talks; after all, the further strengthening of Hungarian-Czechoslovak relations in the spheres of the economy, culture, and the nationality and foreign policy is in our common interest. Regarding the Nagymaros investment, it is known that, following the Hungarian Government's decision to halt construction, groups of Hungarian and Czechoslovak scientists comprising about 30 members exchanged views for 3 days on the basis of documents prepared by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. In view of the fact that we received the final report from that session only this morning, there was no time to assess all questions satisfactorily. Therefore, it is necessary that the scientists continue their work. However, we can note that, although they reached a bilateral agreement on a number of issues, there are substantial differences between the views of the Hungarian and Czechoslovak experts on a number of important issues, especially regarding the ecological threat and risk, but also requirements concerning soil moisture, water quality, and the protection of water

resources. We agreed that it is necessary to strive for the greatest possible objectivity; after all, there is the common accountability to the people on both banks of the Danube with respect to those issues. Similarly, there are also common risks and dangers. Therefore, we must do all we can to minimize them and reduce losses to the smallest possible degree. In this connection, we agreed that further surveys on the given territory are necessary. We will engage neutral institutions and experts from abroad, should it be necessary, and the way things look this could be the case. Naturally, this does not mean refuting the views of Hungarian and Czechoslovak scientists; what is involved is cooperation and the submission of a proposal. In any case, decisions will be made by the governments. Today the two sides submitted alternatives that can be considered and which we are both carefully weighing. If they are objective, they can result in a definite standpoint. Therefore, the bilateral work must continue. The Hungarian Government is bound by the decisions of the Hungarian Parliament, particularly in two respects, that is, that the alternatives must be submitted to Parliament for decision, and until then—and this is very important—it must not undertake any technical or ecological measures that could not be rectified. And, finally, I announce that we will meet once more before 31 October to inform one another about our thoroughly considered and more decisive [rozhodnejsi] standpoints.

L. Adamec's Statement

The Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water project is a joint Hungarian-Czechoslovak project. One has to say that, until now, the project has been progressing very successfully and there have been no special complications. Only last May, certain doubts arose which have led the Hungarian side to suspend construction for 2 months. We have agreed that responsible scientists and other experts will assess the recommendations that have been made. Not only the Hungarian side, Czechoslovakia also considers ecological problems to be of the utmost importance. We, too, are fully aware that any deterioration in living conditions is undesirable for both present and future generations. On our side, the assessment was carried out by academicians and other experts. Only this morning we received a report which, unfortunately, reveals that the experts did not reach a common standpoint. We do not want to underestimate this fact, but since what is involved are problems connected with water, and seismic and ecological problems, it is necessary that these problems be patiently further assessed. When I say patiently, this does not mean this should drag on indefinitely. But we agreed with the Premier of the Hungarian People's Republic, Comrade Nemeth, that the issues will be assessed with final validity by the end of October, and brought to a conclusion at a joint session. On our side, thus far, we see no reason to change the concluded agreement. We must insist on it being fulfilled, because this is a joint Czechoslovak-Hungarian project. The effectiveness of the project depends on this joint effort. I am convinced that we will work our way toward common viewpoints, that a way will be found to successfully complete the project, and that it will not be necessary to claim damages arising from the Hungarian comrades' work stoppage. I believe that matters will be assessed with a cool head by the end of October, and that when we meet then, our conclusions will also be more concrete than they are today. [passage omitted]

Editorial Discusses Impatience With Restructuring
AU2407131589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Jul 89 p 1

[Editorial: "Impatience"]

[Text] For many people, the announcement of the restructuring of the economic mechanism became associated with the notion of the improved operation of our national economy (which was correct) and with its rapid efficiency. There were many whose minds short-circuited: restructuring today—fully stocked shops tomorrow. It is impossible to reproach these people, because they were standing face to face with such an astounding change for the first time in their lives and they lacked the experience and ideas of what is necessary to do first of all in order to fulfill their aspirations.

Economic reform has been under practical preparation for 2 and ½ years. It is not necessary to enumerate everything that has already been completed, first and foremost, from an organizational and legal point of view. However, more and more people are getting the impression that everything is somehow taking far too long—restructuring is proceeding slowly. Many new laws and decrees have already come into effect, more than 2,000 state enterprises have come into existence, the three-tier system of management has changed into a two-tier one—people are taking note of all this. But they do not like the fact that they often have to hunt from shop to shop for goods, of which there should be a sufficient supply. From this point of view, restructuring has still not begun to operate for them. In this connection, one would not be serious in saying that the new economic mechanism will now come into effect in 6 months. Actually, much more could have already been done.

Along with independence, the state enterprises have received great power. Now they are becoming used to them and are looking for ways of correctly applying them. First and foremost, they are resolving the problem of self-financing. However, it is impossible to say that they always proceed correctly and that they choose the correct methods. In the interim, the majority are neglecting the main thing—reducing their own costs, whether they involve energy, raw and processed materials, or other costs. They live with the notion that they cannot consume less and if, under such management, the product is expensive, then let the consumer also pay dearly for it.

It is nothing new that our industry and construction have a much higher level of energy and material consumption in comparison with other industrially advanced states. But somehow they are unable to bring themselves to make a better valorization of inputs. Statistical evidence reveals that, although manufacturing consumption is falling, it is falling so slowly that we would require dozens of years in order to become equal to comparable states. At the same time, the reduction of costs is rightly regarded as being the main source of profit.

It is well known that working time is being used very inefficiently, that losses hover around 10-30 percent. (In advanced capitalist countries they are estimated at being around 5 percent). How much more, then, should be done, how much more quickly should one build, how much more goods should come onto the market? And not only this—the problem lies in the fact that payment, and good payment, is made for time which is not worked. Therefore, it is no surprise that the rate of the growth of wages outstrips the rate of the growth of the productivity of labor. Besides this, money not covered by work carried out is finding its way into circulation. This is one of the reasons for uncovered purchasing power and for the disproportion between the volume of goods and money.

Perhaps this could be partially resolved if the working time which is utilized so little was used for work of real quality. But people continue to complain about the insufficient level of the quality of products, services, and work. Insufficient attention is paid to the control work which is being carried out, despite the fact that the Federal Government's resolution on increasing the quality of products has been in effect for 2 and ½ years. The People's Control Committee has forced many dozens of enterprises to pay increased attention to quality, but can it control quality in all spheres every day? After all, what are the enterprise control organs for?

All kinds of bad habits are being transferred from the old times to the new ones. For example, the attempt to find mistakes in others, but not in oneself. There is no argument that supplier-customer relations are—to put it colloquially—in a terrible mess. Everybody is waiting for an improvement, but nobody is doing anything about it himself. With such a philosophy one can wait forever. People procrastinate not only in supplier-customer relations but also in many other problems, in the hope that someone else will resolve them and submit them ready for use.

Is restructuring really proceeding slowly? Yes, the rebirth of thinking is indeed proceeding slowly. People are having trouble giving up their attitudes from the previous 4 decades when someone else planned, apportioned, and assigned everything for them, and they are assimilating with great difficulty the idea that all of this and even more depends on them alone. And if they have understood the above-mentioned necessity, they are trying to make their work, or more precisely the achievement of a specific result, more easy. For instance, by deciding to manufacture only dearer goods and limit cheaper products, and by not understanding innovation as a means of serving people better than before, but by understanding it only as a means of earning more money. Or they are trying to do more than previously, but to the detriment of quality.

With such a way of thinking, the road to sufficiency is very long and circuitous, and with such an understanding of restructuring, doubts are cast on its sense and purpose. Once again, then, it is very urgently necessary to remember that the character and quality of economic reform does not depend on new laws or organizational arrangement, but on the quality of the work carried out, on its honesty, and on its creative contribution. It also depends on discipline and order.

There is nothing against impatience over the fact that the much longed for results are still not visible. It is only necessary to realize that impatience in waiting for what others will do is not a solution. The solution lies in each of us working better than before. It is good to be impatient, but first and foremost with oneself.

In all state enterprises, there are a number of working collectives. They are an equal partner of the management. They are now becoming accustomed to their new role everywhere, they are taking on shared authority. However, first of all they must understand that they also have to be the initiators of the better utilization of working time, of the strict adherence to technological discipline, of the increased technical and economic standard of the product and its quality, of asserting just renumeration according to real merit or volume, and of the significance and quality of the work carried out. A simple equation is beginning to be valid: The sooner everyone's work improves, the sooner restructuring will begin to bring the expected yield. This is not possible the other way round, not only in socialism, but nowhere in the world.

Threatening Letters Sent to Appeal's Opponents

AU2407194489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Jul 89 p 2

["mb,zar"-signed article: "Hatred of Socialism"]

[Text] Since recently informing our readers about the Charter's "A Few Sentences" appeal, broadcast to Czechoslovakia by Radio Free Europe, our editorial office has received many letters, standpoints, and views from individuals and work collectives. And since party bodies and organizations have acquainted the membership base with the content of the appeal, such letters, standpoints, and views also have been reaching the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee and the National Front. In many enterprises, extraordinary membership meetings and public party meetings have been held, attended by the working people. In their letters, they write to us about all this. They condemn the appeal. They understand its antisocialist character.

It is understandable that we have been receiving also different letters. And not only we, but also those whose standpoints and views we have recently published. For example, Miroslav Hladik, chairman of the CPCZ enterprise organization at the Nosek Mine in Tuchlovice (RUDE PRAVO published the standpoint on 11 July 1989), handed us correspondence addressed to him. Some of it contains threats, insults, and hatred.

Also some of our editors have received similar letters. "You write something like that and we will find you...," an anonymous letter from Vysoke Myto states. "Do not think that we will forget your instigation," someone from Usti nad Labem writes. "Soon everything will change, and than people like you will be ousted," threatens an anonymous letter-writer from Letovice to women of Chrudim.

"You must know that you will suffer for this. Your beloved order died with Brezhnev, and it will never return. I quite believe that you would like to continue to bum, do nothing, and have everything. This has come to the end, my boy, comrade. You will not have any peace for your work. You have had it for 41 years. That is a very long time. Take a look at what is better in our country than in the West. In what respect are things better here? No tanks will come; this is your end. You should all be hanged. Death to communism," (anonymous letter from Mlada Boleslav).

"When you yearn so much for socialism, they should load you on a cattle truck, throw your party card after you, and send you to that country somewhere near the Lake Baykal." (Posted from Gottwaldov.)

"When real democracy comes, we will hang you," states a letter stamped in Prague.

Insults, gallows, hatred for socialism. This also is in the letters we have been receiving from those who call in the same breath for freedom, democracy, dialogue. They want to intimidate all those who are not afraid to openly voice a different view. However, as the letters addressed to our editorial office show, there is only a handful of them compared with honorable and honest standpoints.

Report Issued on Government Plenary Session

AU2107151289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Jul 89 p 1

[CTK report: "The CSSR Government Held a Session"]

[Text] Prague—On Wednesday [19 July], the CSSR Government held a plenary meeting. It discussed a report on the present situation in and realistic prospects for supplying the domestic market this year, and on operative measures to eradicate the shortage of select types of goods. It made note of the measures which the Czech Socialist Republic [SR] and the Slovak SR Governments carried out within their jurisdiction. These concern, in particular, supplies of construction materials. The proposal for measures which was submitted within the jurisdiction of the CSSR Government will be completed before 15 August 1989 so that, in the spirit of the CSSR Government resolution No. 87/1989, increased indebtedness in freely convertable currencies for direct consumption will not occur.

The CSSR Government laid down principles for designating the funds with which the State Commission for Scientific-Technical and Investment Development will carry out a state expert analysis. These principles concern projects for which the federation's centralized financial and foreign currency resources are to be utilized. The conclusions of the state expert analysis will be binding for the further preparation and implementation of these projects and it will not be possible to finance a project without adhering to these conclusions.

The government further discussed and approved a proposal for changing the principles on submitting requests and decisionmaking on postponing deadlines for bringing capacities into trial operation, on completing unfinished investment projects, and on increasing budgeted funds for unfinished investment projects explicitly mentioned in the state plan. The changes to these principles pursue, first and foremost, the rationalization of the system valid to date, and they decentralize decisionmaking powers in this sphere onto the chairman of the State Planning Commission in agreement with the chairman of the State Commission for Scientific-Technical and Investment Development.

The CSSR Government discussed and approved a plan for the main tasks of its activity during the second half of this year and a plan, for the same period, for the control activity of the CSSR People's Control Committee.

The CSSR Government made note of a report on the situation in the construction industry managed by the Czech SR and the Slovak SR Ministries of Construction and the Building Industry, a report which had been discussed by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee Presidium on 14 July 1989. The report outlines the unsatisfactory development of construction in 1987 and 1988 and in the first half of this year which, among other things, is manifested by the profound nonfulfillment of the adjusted value added performances and profit. After the discussion, the government stated that management of the investment process had not been coped with and, in particular, that the high level of unfinished projects is still continuing, which represents a backlog of work for construction enterprises of more than 2 years and in comprehensive housing construction of more than 4 years. Shortcomings in material and technical supplies and in the utilization of working time and mechanisms have not been eradicated. It has not been possible to concentrate capacities, stabilize workers, improve the quality of work, shorten construction deadlines, and increase the efficiency of construction enterprises. This is caused, first and foremost, by shortcomings in management at all levels of construction activity. A positive influence in this regard is expected from the temporary ban on beginning new

projects, which should reduce the backlog of work for construction enterprises and, in this way, reduce tension between supply and demand in the sphere of construction work.

The CSSR Government expressed its agreement with measures to renew the stability and dynamism of construction organizations, an agreement which has a systemic and operative character. This involves price regulations, which should make possible a higher proportion of contracted prices and wage regulation which should enable one to exceed the output in necessary social projects (supplies for market funds, ecological projects, comprehensive housing construction), the stabilization and economical use of manpower, and the detailed specification of the state plan and its relationship to the budget for this year.

During the first quarter of next year, a comprehensive informative report on the revenue situation in state enterprises managed by the Czech SR and Slovak SR Ministries of Construction and the Building Industry will be submitted to the CSSR Government.

The CSSR Government made note of a Czechoslovak State Bank report on the conditions of the experimental operation of the limited foreign currency market in freely convertible currencies, on the present financial situation in selected branches, and on the starting points for the gradual renewal of financial balance in the domestic economy. It also took note of the amended decree issued by the CSSR, Czech SR, and Slovak SR Ministries of Finance and the Czechoslovak State Bank on financial, credit, and other assistance for association and individual housing construction and the modernization of private family homes. The government took note of a report on the course and results of a visit made by the CSSR foreign minister to the Republic of Cyprus, and a report on the course and results of the Paris conference on the CSCE human dimension.

At a follow-up meeting, the CSSR Government Presidium approved a proposal to dissolve the Federal Commission for Road Safety which mainly coordinated its activity with the two, now dissolved, government committees for road safety in the Czech SR and the Slovak SR. The tasks which this commission has fulfilled to date will be guaranteed by individual departments in accordance with their designated competence.

The CSSR Government Presidium became acquainted with a report on safeguarding the reconstruction of the House of Artists in Prague. It expressed its agreement with the experiment being carried out during this reconstruction in which affiliated Czechoslovak construction enterprises will participate. The experiment involves wage regulation for the workforce involved in the project, calculating bills for the work, setting prices by agreement, and making provision for the importation of some materials, machines, equipment, and technology. The reconstruction will begin on 1 December 1989 and will be completed within 23 months so that the 1992 Prague Spring will be able to take place in the House of the Artists.

Economic Report Released for First Half of 1989

AU2107142289 Prague CTK in English 1205 GMT 21 Jul 89

[Text] Prague July 21 (CTK)— Despite a slight decline in the rate of growth of the Czechoslovak national economy, the created gross national income rose by just under 2 percent, which is in harmony with the state plan.

The figures were given to journalists here today by Deputy Chairman of the Federal Statistical Office Belo Bosak in a report on the development of the national economy and implementation of the Czechoslovak state plan in the first half of 1989.

The lower rate of growth of industrial production was partly due to the desirable structural changes, such as a drop in energy- and material-intensive production, as well as to the slower development of electrical engineering and a decrease in general engineering production. Last but not least, the slowdown was caused by effort to achieve economic balance of the country's national economy.

Belo Bosak noted that the living standards have strengthened and personal and social consumption grew more quickly. Personal consumption rose approximately by 3 percent and monetary incomes by 2.4 percent. Although retail trade turnover rose more quickly, the demand for industrial durables was not met. Shortcomings were also noted in the quality of products and the supply of low-priced goods was insufficient. Problems continued in the availability, promptness, and quality of services.

In agriculture, the fulfilment of planned targets was better. Tasks were exceeded in livestock production and prospects for the harvest are good.

Investments development is unsatisfactory. Capital construction continued to grow quickly in conflict with intentions, deviating from the plan especially regarding branch focus and effect. However, government intervention in this sphere will not be felt until the 2nd half of the year.

In the first six months of 1989, Czechoslovak foreign trade turnover rose by 4.3 percent. Trade with the socialist countries remained practically on last year's level, while Czechoslovak exports rose significantly in relation to the non-socialist states.

Restructuring of the production-technology, scientific research, and circulation base of the national economy was completed on July 30. From July 1, 2,246 newly established state enterprises operate according to the new regulations with a total workforce of 5.1 million. The staff of central bodies was reduced by 5,700, i.e. 30 percent of the original figure, mostly due to retirement.

FRG Accuses GDR of Obstructing Normalization

LD2407165589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1515 GMT 24 Jul 89

["New Rows Between Bonn and Berlin"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Berlin, July 24 (TANJUG)—East Berlin has received with surprise and indignation a statement by West Germany's Social Democratic Party (SPD) accusing the eastern neighbour of "obstructing a further normalization of East-West relations."

Sources in Berlin call such accusations completely groundless and say that they do not correspond to reality and constitute lies and insinuations. They recall that the German Democratic Republic has repeatedly proved in reality its policy of easing, dialogue and understanding, and that a further normalization of East-West relations is in its best interest.

The SPD blames the German Democratic Republic for the slow process of normalization in East-West relations. Berlin has also been criticized for shutting itself within its boundaries, not following the example of the Soviet Union and other East European socialist countries—primarily Poland and Hungary—and for failing to make a single step in internal reforms and democratization of society.

It follows that the GDR is an "objective obstacle" to [word indistinct] development of East-West cooperation. Accordingly, it should be made to change, that is, follow the example of some of its allies. If not, East-West relations will come to a standstill.

Berlin has not yet officially reacted to the new accusations from Bonn, but they have been assessed as serious because they concern international relations. When a state is accused of being "objectively an obstacle" [as received] to the development of the political situation in Europe, then such a qualification has a specific international dimension and weight, sources in Berlin said.

Prominent figures in Berlin see such accusations primarily as an attempt to bring pressure to bear on and discredit the GDR internationally, but also as constituting direct interference in its internal affairs.

Western critics of the GDR, primarily those in Bonn, are here described as hypocrites. There were times, sources here say, when they criticized the GDR for being "excessively pro-Russian," for blindly following the Soviet practice. Everything seems to have turned upside down for Bonn, which now advises the GDR to follow the example of the Soviet Union, Poland and Hungary.

At a time, the GDR's party and state leader Erich Honecker reacted to similar accusations by saying: "We never believed that copying other people's experience should replace one's own thought."

Berlin stresses the right of each sovereign country in the world, including the GDR, to follow its own path in internal development. Therefore, it feels that all "pieces of advice" from outside constitute interference in its internal affairs.

The statement from the Warsaw Treaty summit in Bucharest that relations among member states are developing on the principles of independence and the right of each country to follow its own policy, strategy and tactics in internal development, autonomously and without any outside interference—was widely publicized here.

The Bonn accusations have caused concern in Berlin because they were made by practically the only partner in the Federal Republic of Germany to which the GDR is sympathetic. A denial, or at least a correction of the statement, is therefore expected here. It is also said that those responsible for putting spokes in the wheels of East-West relations should be sought elsewhere.

Hiring of East Bloc Guest Workers Considered

AU2507073389 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 24 Jul 89 p 14

[Text] The GDR wants to ease the lack of labor in the country, which is escalating because of the increasing number of emigrants, by hiring guest workers from the East. East Berlin hopes to get workers primarily from Hungary, Poland, and the USSR—fraternal countries where mass unemployment will probably emerge in the coming years. At a conference for the preparation of the 12th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], which is scheduled for next May, an SED functionary stated that the performances of the Polish guest workers are very satisfactory and that it is now planned to settle entire families in the GDR, who would be eligible for GDR citizenship after a few years. The East Berlin Ministry of State Security does not like the direction of this development. In case of mass immigration, above all from Poland, state security fears an increase in the crime rate since the guest workers from the neighboring country are already active as organized smugglers and black marketeers.

Rezso Nyers Discusses Economic Reform, Future

PM2507093289 Paris LE MONDE in French 25 Jul 89 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Hungarian Socialist Workers Party General Secretary Rezso Nyers by Erik Izraelewicz; date, place not given]

[Text] Budapest—[Izraelewicz] The seven major industrial nations decided at their Paris summit to increase and coordinate their aid to Hungary and Poland. What do expect from the West?

[Nyers] First, we welcome the fact that the six other leaders of the Group of Seven followed Bush's proposal. Hungary's chief wish is that the Western countries that so desire will help it to avert a financial crisis.

In the short and medium term we should rapidly restore our internal and external economic balances. But for the time being our country is only capable of a gradual restoration of the balance. So the main problem for us is posed by interest on our foreign debt. But we also need longer-term aid—in the form of capital and technology, for instance. We await concrete decisions hopefully.

[Izraelewicz] Hungary's foreign debt totals $17 billion. On his 12-13 July visit to Budapest Mr Bush announced only the establishment of a $25 million fund for investment in small and medium private enterprises. Are you not disappointed?

[Nyers] A large proportion of the Hungarian public were very disappointed. Regarding the United States as a wealthy country possessing a major financial resources, many people, in our country as in Poland, expected a real miracle from Bush's visit.

However, the country's leadership and I myself did not expect any more. I agree with Mr Bush when he told us that he is willing to help us to help ourselves. We do not expect any gifts. If we are nevertheless disappointed, it is because the American President was unable to announce to us that Hungary would henceforth permanently enjoy the position of most favored country in its relations with the United States. Mr Bush is in favor of it but has not yet secured Congress' agreement. I believe it is only a matter of time.

[Izraelewicz] Will the decision of the Seven permit an improvement in relations between Hungary and the IMF?

[Nyers] I hope so. The IMF has no grounds for criticizing us over the orientation of our economic policy. The government is doing its utmost to balance our foreign accounts. Of course there are discussions about the rate at which to restore the balance, but in my opinion the IMF leaders must heed the declarations of the Seven at their Paris summit. I also believe that the current political processes must not be assessed solely from an economic viewpoint.

[Izraelewicz] The West is making its aid conditional on political democratization and economic deregulation. Is this not an interference in the country's internal affairs, as some people here believe?

[Nyers] Absolutely not. I would say, rather, that we ourselves have at last interfered in our own affairs. Political democratization and the establishment of a market economy are in our national interest. I totally agreed with Mr Bush when he stressed that the United States is interested in human rights but neutral with regard to our domestic political affairs. The American Administration does not take a stance in favor of either the government or the opposition, and we totally accept the UN human rights declaration.

[Izraelewicz] In your opinion, are the West's interests compatible with the maintenance of good relations with the other East European countries, and particularly the USSR?

[Nyers] With the Soviet Union, definitely—fortunately. The best evidence of this is the letter that Mr Gorbachev sent to the Seven in Paris, where they discussed Poland and Hungary. However, it is true that for some socialist countries Hungary's policy does pose a problem. Whereas we are trying to integrate ourselves into the world economy, Romania is increasingly detaching itself and wants us to follow suit. I have told President Ceausescu not to expect Hungary to follow that path.

The situation is different with the GDR and Czechoslovakia. These two countries do not ask us to imitate them. They do have certain anxieties, however. We hope we will be able to pursue our integration into the world economy, while continuing to work with them. Furthermore, we would be very pleased if we could maintain with the FRG relations as close as those which the GDR maintains with the FRG.

[Izraelewicz] Some opposition parties propose that Hungary leave CEMA and apply to join the EEC. What do you think?

[Nyers] The authors of such proposals are irresponsible. Why leave CEMA at a time when everyone wants to gain access to its member countries' markets, and especially the Soviet market? As for joining the EEC, it is known that Austria, a candidate for membership, will have to wait 5 years before meeting the necessary conditions. As for Hungary, it would take at least 10 years. So we shall see.

[Izraelewicz] The Soviets propose that trade be conducted henceforth in dollars and on the basis of world prices. This would be very expensive for Hungary. What do you think?

[Nyers] In principle, Hungary is in favor of trade being conducted on the basis of world market prices and in convertible currencies—and this means a western currency, since there is at present no convertible socialist currency. The difficulties concern the transition period.

[Izraelewicz] Having been father of the economic reform in 1968, you experienced a setback in 1972. Is there not a danger of a recurrence of such a scenario?

[Nyers] I am no longer sure of anything. I no longer believe in a historical order, which I did believe in for a long time. A return to Stalinism seems to me entirely impossible. Even between 1972 and 1978, the years of the Kadar period, there was no return to Stalinist methods but merely a halt in the reforms. Now our reforms are closely linked to international changes. In order for them to be challenged there would have to be exceptional circumstances, a regression in relations between the USSR and the United States and between the USSR and Europe. There are dangers, of course, but the greatest danger for us would be if we were to remain static.

[Izraelewicz] The government and party want to create a market economy in Hungary. Do you want to organize a transition to capitalism?

[Nyers] No, what we want is democratic socialism, a combination of a market economy and an economic policy based on socialist values. We have an opposition that envisages an entirely deregulated market economy. Our new constitution must acknowledge both these approaches.

[Izraelewicz] Do the privatizations of state enterprises currently being organized in Hungary not challenge the principle of collective ownership?

[Nyers] The privatizations are necessary and useful. The privatization process will not cause the disappearance of public capital, or that of the cooperatives, but will complement them. We want private capital to participate in a mixed economy. Collective ownership will remain predominant.

[Izraelewicz] The current deregulation of the economy is accompanied by the growth of poverty and unemployment and by increased inequalities. Are socialist values not being called into question?

[Nyers] Yes. But the government's economic policy should make it possible to reduce the spontaneous and negative effects of the market. For instance, it seems to me inevitable during an initial stage that the economic reforms will cause the emergence of a very wealthy social sector. In the case of the most underprivileged, it is the social policy which will make it possible to reduce inequalities. Thanks to the spread of growth, broader sectors should then be able to improve their situation.

[Izraelewicz] When will the first free general election take place? In the fall or next spring?

[Nyers] We are currently discussing this with the opposition parties. In my opinion, this matter of the date is not very important. If there is agreement, it is possible to organize it at the end of this year. Otherwise, it will take place next year. But this date must not be postponed and the current parliament prevented from working. In any event, it is the parliament which will adopt the 1990 budget, as well as the guidelines of the economic reform. On the other hand, the new constitution will be approved by the next Assembly—that which will emerge from this election.

[Izraelewicz] Are there differences between the opposition parties' economic programs and that of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]?

[Nyers] There are differences but no fundamental conflict. I set aside the extremists on both sides—the right-wing extremists who wish to eliminate state ownership completely and the left-wing extremists who contemplate eliminating all private ownership. I believe that it is possible to find points of agreement with the other parties.

[Izraelewicz] The formation of a coalition government in the postelection period is being mentioned. What is your opinion?

[Nyers] That will depend on the election results. The new government will have to adopt difficult economic measures, necessitating a certain national agreement. A coalition is possible and desirable. We will not guarantee the government for the MSZMP alone. If another party were to gain a majority, I do not believe that it would be interested in governing on its own. For my part, I imagine a coalition between the Left and the Center.

[Izraelewicz] The party congress is to be held in October. Can a breakup be averted?

[Nyers] We have not as yet completely dispelled that danger, but we have taken considerable steps forward both politically and in terms of organization. Having been rid of a good many extremists, the party will remain united. The congress will provide the answer.

Nyers Cited on Need for Coalition Government

LD2507082789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0600 GMT 25 Jul 89

[Text] In the view of Rezso Nyers, it is necessary that after the elections the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] and the opposition should form a coalition. This was in a statement that the chairman of the

MSZMP gave to LE MONDE. He said that he believes that, if an agreement is concluded between the MSZMP and the opposition, it will be possible to hold general elections at the end of this year, but if there will be no agreement then elections will be held in Hungary only next year.

Nyers, Delegation Depart for Moscow Visit

LD2407164489 Budapest MTI in English 1554 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 24 (MTI)—Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party], left for an official friendly working visit to Moscow on Monday at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

The Hungarian delegation includes Pal Ivanyi, member of the Political Executive committee, secretary of the Central Committee; Istvan Degen, chief of staff of the party president's office; Gyula Thurmer, foreign affairs advisor to the general secretary; and Emil Kimmel, deputy director of the Central Committee office.

Nemeth Interviewed on Free Elections, Romania

AU2407212289 Hamburg BILD AM SONNTAG in German 23 Jul 89 pp 4-5

[Interview with Hungarian Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth by Michael H. Spreng and Klaus Blume: "Hungary: Communism Is at the End"; date, place not given]

[Text] BILD AM SONNTAG: When will free elections be held in Hungary?

Miklos Nemeth: On 8 June 1990 at the latest. The government has already drafted a bill for free and democratic elections, which is currently being discussed with the opposition and all social forces. I hope that it can be submitted to Parliament in early fall.

BILD AM SONNTAG: Will all parties be allowed to participate?

Nemeth: Yes.

BILD AM SONNTAG: Will elections in Hungary be completely free, or will the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] be assigned a certain quota, as happened in Poland?

Nemeth: There will be no quotas. This means that our elections will fundamentally differ from those in Poland. We want a multiparty system, we want pluralism. For this reason, we are drafting a new constitution that will finally abandon Stalinism. It will guarantee the basic human rights, such as the right to assembly, free expression of opinion, freedom of press, freedom of conscience, and a market economy. The new constitution will also abandon the leadership of the Communist Party.

BILD AM SONNTAG: How strong is the resistance of the dogmatists within the Communist Party?

Nemeth: Even the most outspoken dogmatists cannot ignore one fact: The system on the basis of which we worked so far has yielded some results, but not many. Those who profited from the old system are of course putting up resistance. However, they are not liquidated or sent to prison, as in the past.

BILD AM SONNTAG: How large is the group of opponents?

Nemeth: Many of them mask their criticism with calls for reforms. They speak in favor of reforms—only between the lines they hint that they are opposed to reforms. It is difficult to assess their strength.

BILD AM SONNTAG: Does the Central Committee also include opponents?

Nemeth: The party leadership is as diverse as the party and the population. There are cautious persons—also among the leadership—who consider the pace of democratization too rapid. However, there is no disagreement within the MSZMP Central Committee on the decisive issue, which is that reforms are necessary.

BILD AM SONNTAG: Is there a danger that those who want to slow down reforms will gain the upper hand?

Nemeth: There is no 100-percent guarantee that a setback will not occur. However, we are working hard to prevent this. The most important guarantee are the people. The population would not allow a step back. My government is also a guarantee. It is no longer the extended arm of the party, but an independent power center. It has made it clear after the tragic events in Beijing that domestic issues will never again be resolved by means of violence. The Armed Forces will never again be misused in our country.

BILD AM SONNTAG: What will happen when the Communist Party loses the majority in the elections?

Nemeth: Well, it will have to accept this decision. I consider it possible but not likely. If we resolutely declare our support for democracy, and if we enter elections with fresh faces, we will achieve election results that will allow us to remain the ruling force as a majority or in a coalition.

BILD AM SONNTAG: However, you would be prepared to accept any election result?

Nemeth: Yes.

BILD AM SONNTAG: In Poland, the Communist Party suffered a stinging defeat where elections were free....

Nemeth: The leadership of the Polish Communist Party has misjudged the situation for years instead of leading the reform movement, as we did. General Jaruzelski told me at the Warsaw Pact summit in Bucharest: We scored a military victory in 1981 (when Solidarity was gagged with the imposition of martial law—the editors) but we suffered a political defeat.

BILD AM SONNTAG: Will Gorbachev be successful in the Soviet Union, and is his reform course irreversible?

Nemeth: It is very difficult to give a clear answer today. However, Gorbachev has studied Khrushchev's mistakes very carefully. Of course he has enemies. Many officials enjoyed privileges that they do not want to give up without a fight. The situation in the shops and the money people have at their disposal will ultimately decide on the success or failure of Gorbachev. Gorbachev is aware of that.

BILD AM SONNTAG: What can the communist countries do to become more efficient economically?

Nemeth: I can only speak on behalf of Hungary. Political reforms can best be promoted through a sound economic development. For this reason, we will submit a bill in the fall that facilitates private ownership, private initiatives, and entrepreneurial commitment, and which reduces state influence on the economy. At the same time we want to create a social network so that those who are not successful in this competition are not plunged into poverty and misery. We openly discuss our economic crisis. Previously, the population was not informed about the extent of the crisis. We admit quite frankly that this kind of restructuring will, of course, also entail tensions and sacrifices.

BILD AM SONNTAG: Social market economy, as practiced in our country? Nemeth: I am reluctant to use an adjective to describe market economy. We would not like to imitate a foreign model. Hungary was always successful when it tried to pursue its own path. When we used foreign models, Hungary became increasingly sick, until it nearly became disabled.

BILD AM SONNTAG: How can we Germans help?

Nemeth: We appreciate your role very much. I hope that this will be the case to an even greater extent in the future. We want to establish joint ventures. We would like to expand cooperation with Baden-Wuerttemberg and Bavaria and extend it to other provinces. We do not only want cooperation in production but also in the training of managers and between universities. We are not ashamed of learning something from others. We have always been impressed by the precision of the Germans and their dedication to work. The Hungarians have always had close links with the Germans concerning their philosophy of life and their way of thinking. Numerous Germans—mainly Schabians [ethnic Germans]—have been living in our country for centuries. They were deported under Stalin and Rakosi. However, they have not forgotten their original home. Many older Schabians, who were resettled at the time, have come back to Hungary, and I am pleased about that. Here, too, we want to put an end to the terror of the past. We want to do everything possible so that people will no longer speak of Eastern and Western Europe, but only of Europe.

BILD AM SONNTAG: Would you like to have branches of German international companies, such as of Bayer, VW, BMW, or Siemens, in Hungary?

Nemeth: We have already started corresponding talks. I agreed with Baden-Wuerttemberg's Minister President Lothar Spaeth on the establishment of a Baden-Wuerttemberg House in Budapest, where all large firms will have offices. We will also invite small- and medium-sized enterprises to make investments in Hungary.

BILD AM SONNTAG: Do you not think that the working morale should also change in Hungary?

Nemeth: By all means. We have quite a lot to do in this field. Many hundreds of workers are already working for BMW. Their performance is good, sometimes even better than that of their German colleagues. As a matter of fact, the working morale also depends on the conditions and goals.

BILD AM SONNTAG: In the FRG we have thousands of vacancies for apprentices. Would this not be an opportunity for Hungarian school graduates?

Nemeth: We have already discussed this issue with Chancellor Kohl. We would like to send apprentices to the FRG.

BILD AM SONNTAG: Do you consider it possible that Hungary may withdraw from CEMA and join the EC?

Nemeth: I do not consider this possible in the foreseeable future, despite the fact that CEMA currently brings more disadvantages to its members than advantages. However, what has happened over a period of 40 years cannot be corrected overnight. We have reached good agreements with the EC. We must fill them with substance now and remove quantity restrictions as soon as possible. This process should be completed by 1995. We would prefer a completion by 1992. In the long run, we strive for an association agreement.

BILD AM SONNTAG: What role will the Warsaw Pact play in the future?

Nemeth: Our efforts must aim at dissolving the military alliances of both sides—that means NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Until this goal is reached, the Warsaw Pact should be transformed from a primarily military organization into a primarily political organization. It might then develop into a forum for the discussion of political questions—without limiting the sovereignty of the individual member states. We have adopted the following course: Everybody should pursue his own path, without lecturing other states or interfering with their affairs.

BILD AM SONNTAG: Do you still find it possible to hold businesslike conversations with Ceausescu?

Nemeth: It is very difficult to talk with him. If, on the basis of facts, we say that something is white, he will claim that it is black.

BILD AM SONNTAG: Do you consider it possible that the controversies with Romania will further escalate, that they may even result in military confrontation?

Nemeth: I am confident that this will not happen. We on our part will do nothing to provoke an escalation of the conflict. It would be not only the Hungarian and the German minorities, but also the Romanian population itself, who would suffer from an escalation.

BILD AM SONNTAG: Has Gorbachev made clear his position on this issue?

Nemeth: He told us and Ceausescu that he does not want to mediate in this issue or to make peace.

BILD AM SONNTAG: Soviet troops were not exactly popular in Hungary after the suppression of the 1956 popular uprising. How long will they stay in the country?

Nemeth: No country is pleased about the deployment of foreign troops. Our goal is to eliminate foreign troops from all European countries. A total of 100,000 Soviet soldiers have already left Hungarian territory. If European cooperation continues at this pace, we hope that all soldiers will be removed by the year 2000, maybe even earlier.

BILD AM SONNTAG: What do you think of the German people's desire for self-determination?

Nemeth: The Germans have grown up sharing the same culture. From this viewpoint, their total separation is a mistake. However, World War II and its consequences are also a historic reality today. We can only hope that the construction of a European home will lead to a solution that is acceptable to all sides.

BILD AM SONNTAG: What should the European home be like in your view?

Nemeth: The windows must not be nailed up, the doors must be open for everyone, and democracy must prevail in all rooms. Nobody should feel threatened. Nobody must believe that he is the only one who is right.

BILD AM SONNTAG: That means a house without a terrible wall?

Nemeth: Exactly. In a common European home everybody should have the same basic rights.

BILD AM SONNTAG: Are we witnessing the beginning of the end of communism?

Nemeth: What does capitalism mean, what does communism mean? These are the remainders of an ideological approach that did not get us anywhere. We never spoke about building communism. In Moscow nobody is no longer using this phrase. We should leave the religious war to philosophers and historians. Our tragedy is that we had to adapt our life to ideological constraints for 40 years. We see the results now.

Horn Cited on Romanian Missile Purchase, Tension

AU2507073689 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 24 Jul 89 p 99

[Text] Hungary feels threatened by the "Condor" intermediate-range missiles which Romania's dictator Nicolae Ceausescu has acquired with German and Argentine help and intends to deploy against the socialist neighbors. Even though Hungary's Foreign Minister Gyula Horn "does not yet see any concrete military threat," he warns against "underestimating the danger." If a small country acquires offensive weapons just at the time when the superpowers are reducing their intermediate-range missiles, this has a destabilizing effect on all of Europe. If the missiles are indeed deployed, Hungary has to take corresponding steps in the interest of its security, Horn said. The background to the escalating conflict between the socialist neighbors lies in the tensions following the persecution of the Hungarian minority in Romania, which have already caused a mass exodus. In addition, Romania has protested against U.S. President Bush's visit to Budapest and the rehabilitation of the executed Hungarian Premier Imre Nagy. At the last Warsaw Pact conference in Bucharest at the beginning of July, Ceausescu allegedly threatened Hungary with war. Therefore, the Hungarian opposition has given up its demand for Hungary's withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact: The alliance might be the only protection against the raving neighbor.

Trade With Romania To Fall 10 Percent in 1989

LD2407140189 Budapest MTI in English 1149 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 24, 1989 (MTI-ECONEWS)—According to preliminary figures, by the end of this year Hungarian-Romanian trade may amount to about 600-610 million rubles, a 10-per-cent decrease compared with the 1988 figure, Trade Ministry officials say.

The decrease in turnover is primarily due to a decline in Romanian deliveries and Hungarian solvent demand, not to tensions between the two countries, said Mr Laszlo Konya, head of the Hungarian Trade representation in Bucharest.

The trade protocol between the two countries for 1989 envisages two-way deliveries worth 720 million rubles, which is 9.8 per cent higher than the forecast for 1988. By mid-July, companies in both countries with foreign-trading rights had concluded contracts worth 525 million rubles under the interstate trade protocol for 1989, only 73 per cent of the amount envisaged by the said protocol.

Romania ranks 5th among Hungary's socialist trading partners, and 12th among all of Hungary's foreign trade partners.

The machine industry is the most important connection between the two countries, with over 65-per-cent of the total turnover. The largest Hungarian import item is the 40,000 Dacia passenger cars and the spare parts which come into Hungary yearly. Hungary also imports several thousand Aro jeeps and station wagons. Road vehicle parts and car details account for a sizeable amount of two-way deliveries.

Hungarian machine exports mainly consist of machine tools, instruments, computer products, and machines for the food industry, the light industry and the chemical industry.

Salt, caustic potash, ammonia soda, polyisoprene and polybutadiene synthetic rubber, along with some other consumer goods, are also significant Romanian import items.

Petrochemical products (benzol, tuluol) are important Hungarian export items, as well as pharmaceutical products, baby food, fire-resistant materials and food industry products.

Romanians Attempt Border Crossing in Train

AU2407124789 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 21 Jul 89 p 8

[Text] Hungarian customs officials discovered 23 Romanian citizens in a closed compartment of the Ferenc Liszt Budapest-Vienna international express train in the vicinity of Komarom on 20 July. The Romanian citizens refused to present their travel documents.

The train was stopped at Mosonmagyarovar station and the border guard and police in charge began to negotiate with the Romanian citizens. The group declared that they refused to leave the train and wanted to travel to Austria at all costs. As the Austrian authorities have already flatly refused to allow people into Austria without valid travel documents and visas, the carriage was uncoupled from the train and sent back to Budapest.

Several attempts of this kind have already occurred this year, and this has prompted officials of the Hungarian Ministry of Interior to point out that Austria and the other Western countries only receive people who have official permits. Illegal attempts to cross the border could cause serious problems, in spite of the good will of the Hungarian authorities.

The carriage with the Romanian citizens who had tried to cross the border illegally arrived at Budapest Eastern station in the early afternoon hours.

Government Spokesman's 20 July News Conference

AU2407134189 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 21 Jul 89 pp 1,5

[Report by Attila Vodros: "Council of Ministers Holds Session—Government Commissioner's Report on the River Barrage System and the Hungarian-CSSR Search for Compromise—Press Conference by Acting Government Spokesman Zsolt Bajnok," with the participation of Government Commissioner Laszlo Udvari; in Budapest on 20 July]

[Excerpts] Following the meeting between the Hungarian and CSSR premiers, the Council of Ministers held a meeting on 20 July. After the meeting, Zsolt Bajnok and Laszlo Udvari briefed journalists on the meeting. [passage omitted]

NEPSZABADSAG: I have information that, prior to meeting with their Hungarian counterparts, the Czechoslovak scientists held a preliminary meeting in Prague, presumably with politicians. However, it is a welcome development that the Czechoslovak side accepted the proposal to ask the opinion of an international committee of scientists about the river barrage project. Who will be the members of this committee?

Laszlo Udvari: We do not know whether the CSSR scientists had a briefing in Prague or not, but we do know that the same scientists who now participated in the conference were also present in planning the river barrage. Therefore, it is logical that they want to avoid a lasting suspension of the project. We do not yet know what experts we will ask to participate in this committee. [passage omitted]

MAGYAR HIRLAP: Did the talks deal with financial matters?

Laszlo Udvari: There was no talk of money, Prime Minister Adamec mentioned only one figure, namely that so far the CSSR has spent Kcs20 billion on this project. [passage omitted]

Laszlo Udvari then pointed out that Prime Minister Adamec showed a readiness to seek compromise solutions, but this does not mean that the CSSR ceased to stick to its original concepts; it only accepted the Hungarian extension of the halt to construction until 31 October. [passage omitted]

PEC Discusses Party Leadership, Elections

LD2407204889 Budapest MTI in English 1810 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 24 (MTI)—At its Monday session, the Political Executive Committee (PEC) of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party discussed proposals relating to the party leadership to be elected at the forthcoming party congress, the control bodies and their method of election, which will all go forward to be decided on at the next Central Committee session.

Based on the experience gained in the first six months, the PEC surveyed this year's expected development of the economy, and also heard information about the economic policy outlines for the years 1990-92. It was established that during the past few months, the economic policy transformation had started, which is in line with the standing taken by the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Central Committee on November 2, 1988. The long-term results expected in this relation have not been able to emerge so far, and the Hungarian economy does not yet show a marked increase in output. The PEC also pointed out that the scope of economic policy will be limited in the coming years by the effects of the world economy and Hungary's own mounting problems. In spite of all this, Hungary has to accelerate the transforming of the economic policy and its system of methods in order to maintain the functioning of the Hungarian economy. Several outlines should be drafted about this acceleration.

The body then went on to discuss various issues in its authority. It also specified the steps to be taken by the HSWP delegation participating at the trilateral political talks.

The PEC heard a briefing on the international and bilateral discussions of the HSWP leadership.

Jaruzelski Opens Consultations on New Government

LD2407194489 Warsaw PAP in English 1833 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 24—Poland's President Wojciech Jaruzelski started consultations with representatives of political and social forces represented in the Sejm on the formation of a new government.

The president received here today Chairman of the United Peasants' Party Central Committee Roman Malinowski and next Chairman of the Democratic Party's Central Committee Jerzy Jozwiak.

It was agreed that on July 25 President Jaruzelski will hold a consultative talk with Chairman of the Solidarity Citizen's Committee Lech Walesa.

The coming days will also see the president's consultations with leaders of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions, the Pax Christian Association, the Christian-Social Union, the Polish Catholic-Social Union, the National Union of Farmers' Circles and Organizations, the Rural Solidarity, and with other personalities of political and social life.

President Jaruzelski Receives Congratulations

Walesa Sends Greetings

AU2407153389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Jul 89 p 5

[PAP report: "Letter From Lech Walesa to Wojciech Jaruzelski"]

[Text] Please accept my congratulations on your election by the National Assembly to the office of president of the Polish People's Republic. May the period in which it is given to you to fulfill this office turn out to be a historic period for our country, effectively leading to freedom and democracy, to a regaining of our rightful place in Europe, and to the satisfaction of all justified aspirations of the Poles. I also wish you and Poland that the next president of the Republic may assume his office supported by the vote of every Pole, in line with the civic rights that are owed to us.

I repeat my assurance made several days ago whereby we will try to cooperate with every president in order to solve Polish problems and guarantee the Poles a more dignified life.

TRYBUNA LUDU Hails Jaruzelski

AU2407135789 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Jul 89 p 1

[Editorial by TRYBUNA LUDU editor-in-chief Jerzy Majka: "The Supreme Polish Raison d'Etat Has Triumphed"]

[Text] Yesterday, the National Assembly elected a president of the Polish People's Republic. This highest post in the country was entrusted to Wojciech Jaruzelski for the next 6 years. Although no one in Poland can expect unanimous support for anyone today, I am convinced this choice will satisfy most of society. In any case, it will satisfy the firm majority of politically-minded and responsible Poles.

Thousands of letters and telephone calls to our offices indicated that Wojciech Jaruzelski was the person most suited to Poland's needs at a time of accelerated reforms. The authors of these letters and the callers underlined his rich political experience and character, which makes it easier to act in a spirit of partnership and accord.

Wojciech Jaruzelski's candidature was supported by the leaderships of all the parties and associations that make up the coalition. Many distinguished intellectuals said Jaruzelski was the best candidate. Everyone gave a sigh of relief when the State Council chairman agreement to stand, and welcomed with great satisfaction Wednesday's decision by parliament to elect him.

The road leading up to this choice was not free of drama and controversy. This description fits the first part of the 13th Plenum of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] and the talks by supreme bodies of all the groups that make up the coalition. At Wojciech Jaruzelski's meetings with all the parliamentary deputies clubs the temperature was high. The fact that his talk with the Citizens Parliamentary Club dragged on for over 5 hours speaks for itself.

The very election of the president, right up to the final counting of votes, was also marked by tension. Some 270 votes were cast, which is am absolute majority. Some 233 members of the National Assembly voted against, and 34 abstained.

The process of agreeing on how to elect the president—for that is how I would describe what happened—lasted about 3 weeks. I do not agree with those who claim there was a presidential or constitutional crisis, though I appreciate their impatience at the delay in choosing a president. I believe we will see more long and patient talks by parliamentary clubs in future, for this is a way of achieving at least a minimum amount of consensus on the subject of vital national issues. Therefore, I consider the delay to have been advantageous.

The reaching of the required National Assembly majority in order to elect a president is a major precedent for the new parliament and its first experience. This promises good work by both chambers.

Now that Wojciech Jaruzelski has been elected, I hope the decisions reached at the 10th Central Committee plenum and expounded at the "roundtable" will be consistently implemented. A good guarantee of this is his commitment to the cause of profound national reforms and transformations. There is no doubt that, by means of his experience and prestige, he will accelerate the establishment of a socialist parliamentary democracy, a civic society, and an efficient multisectored economy in Poland.

Wojciech Jaruzelski's desire to seek accord on the subject of vital issues and willingness to listen to different opinions and views is an exceptionally important personal characteristic, permitting an effective discharging of the duties of president. The last 8 years prove that he has always attached the utmost importance to national accord. Whenever tension rose and the danger of a social conflict increased, he proved capable of finding a compromise and removing the obstacles along the path.

Every day, he displayed an ability to hold dialogue on any issue whatsoever with people whose views were diametrically opposed to his own. His level of political culture promises that, should it prove necessary to act as mediator between supreme government bodies, he will fulfill this role successfully.

The world is carefully monitoring what is happening in Poland, and from us it expects evidence of maturity to face up to the challenges. Wojciech Jaruzelski enjoys great respect in the East and in the West. He personifies the reformist line and the efforts to achieve stability. In relations with our allies and with countries that have no sympathy for us he has always been guided by nothing but Polish interests. At a time of great trial, he has furnished evidence of patriotism. Therefore, his election has consolidated Poland's position in international relations.

In the first controversial question examined by parliament, the supreme Polish raison d'etat has triumphed. This is a cause for optimism, despite the several hours spent discussing matters of procedure.

Army Daily Conveys Congratulations

AU2507111789 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 20 Jul 89 pp 1, 2

[Unsigned commentary: "Pride and Satisfaction"]

[Text] We received the news of Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski's election to the office of president of the Polish People's Republic [PPR] with a profound feeling of pride and satisfaction. We believe, and we have grounds for asserting that this belief is also shared by military circles, that the best possible person was chosen for this eminent and responsible position.

We expressed the view that General Jaruzelski was the most suitable candidate for the office of president in our publications on many occasions. This view was also expressed by our readers, and was also increasingly held within all of Polish society and beyond the borders of our state.

The arguments that we advanced concerned the need to maintain continuity in the functioning of the state and the stability and security of the state in particular. We drew attention to the international credibility of the person of the general and his undoubted authority as a statesman, both within the coalition and in the eyes of Western states. Gen Jaruzelski's outstanding personal qualities as a politician, soldier, and individual were also arguments in his favor. We wrote about his experience in the work of the state, his leadership qualities, which are of such great importance in discharging the function of supreme commander of the Armed Forces, and about his moral qualities as a patriot.

We also opted for the general's candidacy, because he is a politician whose actions should be identified with the resolute implementation, despite numerous difficulties, of the line of institutional renewal, national accord and dialogue, and changes in the structure of the state that are geared toward civic democracy and the assertion of human qualities in public life.

The election of Gen Jaruzelski to the office of president should be considered a victory for thinking in terms of the future interests of the state and a feeling of responsibility for its security. A sense of community triumphed. The election of the general also means seeking—while maintaining the separate identities and varied ideological character of the forces represented in parliament—those things that Poles have in common, the things that enable Poles to reach agreement about matter of the greatest, decisive importance for the country.

We can say that as soldiers who are united by bond of the uniform, but also as citizens who hold a variety of beliefs, we have profound reasons for bestowing the respect that is due the highest representative of the Polish state on the president who has been chosen by the National Assembly. At the same, we believe that this is shared by the majority of society. In this way, the person who has been elected president can unite us on what continues to be a difficult march toward a better future, a better future that no one and nothing, apart from our own determination, can guarantee us.

We convey our heartiest military congratulations to the newly elected president of the PPR, who is, at the same time, the supreme commander of the PPR Armed Forces and chairman of the National Defense Committee.

Miodowicz Congratulates Jaruzelski

AU2407175189 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21-23 Jul 89 p 2

[Message of congratulations from Alfred Miodowicz, member of the Politburo of the Polish United Workers Party and chairman of the National Trade Union Confederation, to President Wojciech Jaruzelski]

[Text] I learned of your election by the National Assembly to the highest office of our country with unconcealed pleasure.

I know that you have never spared time or strength to make our country and Polish society assume their rightful place among the countries of our continent.

I am convinced that, as head of state, you will always be mindful of activity that permits the creation of a dignified standard of living for working people and pensioners.

We remember that it is thanks to your personal support that the trade unions have been able to emerge in defense of working people's interests in many conflict situations. I do not hide the fact that we wish to be able to count on such support and understanding in future, as well.

Poland, our country, is experiencing a difficult time. Working people and our families want to live and work in peace. Man and his dignity must be respected. Social justice, so dangerously unstable right now, must be restored.

Mr President, the burden of responsibility for Poland that you have assumed permits great hopes for a tidying up of the economy, an expansion of civic liberties, and the building of a fully democratic state.

I believe and wish, Mr President, that you will fulfill the expectations of all of us.

Alfred Miodowicz [no titles given].

Miodowicz Views Roundtable Indexation Principles

LD2407155189 Warsaw PAP in English 1347 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 24—Chairman of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions OPZZ Alfred Miodowicz addressed a letter to Polish Sejm deputies in which on behalf of his union he protests the principles of indexation of wages worked out during the roundtable talks and presents his organization's own proposal in this regard which says that:

—indexation should be general and full, that is, compensate for price hikes in 100 percent,
—it should embrace retirement and disability pensions as well as social allowances,
—it should be introduced within less than five months,
—financial possibilities of enterprises determined by the system of taxes should be adjusted so as to ensure full indexation to compensate for price rises,
—it is necessary to establish a minimum, guaranteed sum for those on lowest wages to prevent their living standards from dropping below the permissible level.

The roundtable agreement provided for 80-percent indexation, its level being conditional on the financial possibilities of enterprises. It also envisaged a five-month delay of indexation payments in the production sphere.

"We think that in order to prevent violent social conflicts indexation should be carried out according to our proposal and not according to the principles adopted at the roundtable. Indexation is absolutely necessary in the budgetary sphere, whereas economic conditions should be created for work establishments enabling them to make independent decisions as to the level of wages compensating for a real increase in the cost of living," Miodowicz says.

"I fear that other solutions may result in unpredictable consequences," he concludes.

Opposition Daily Views President Bush's Visit

AU2407153189 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 11 Jul 89 p 1

[Commentary by Danuta Zagrodzka: "Through America to Europe"]

[Text] There is no doubt that many people are disappointed over the five-point Polish aid program that President Bush brought with him. It talks about millions, whereas what we need are billions. We have recently heard promises of support for our affairs from various quarters.

However, the support form the United States has an entirely different significance. For several years now the government of that country has opposed granting Poland relief and loans at international forums. Only now that Poland has embarked on the "difficult path of democracy" has the attitude changed into one that is clearly sympathetic toward us. It is not only a question of money. Indeed, it is more a question of politics, of supporting a process whereby the two parts of Europe, which have hitherto been separated by a wall, can move closer together. In view of America's importance, this will undoubtedly impact on our other creditors and the attitude that international institutions adopt toward us.

We have taken a big step toward democracy, but so far we have done hardly anything at all to bring about a normal economy. To be perfectly honest, we are not even prepared for receiving large dollar loans. The world knows this, and it is waiting.

It would be reassuring to know that the world would not remain indifferent if Poland were to manage to effect genuine economic changes rapidly and put forward a concrete reform program. President Bush's warm words in the Sejm allow one to nurture this hope.

Governmental Agreements Signed With United States

AU2407143989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Jul 89 p 6

[PAP headline: "Agreements Between the PPR and U.S. Governments"]

[Text] Two agreements between the governments of the Polish People's Republic [PPR] and the United States were signed in Warsaw on 17 July. The agreements concern the supply of agricultural produce to our country without payment and the establishment of a joint commission for humanitarian aid.

Under the terms of the first agreement, the U.S. Government will supply 11,500 tonnes of sorghum (a high-protein feeds ingredient) and 4,500 tonnes of butter. The U.S. Government will bear all the costs involved in buying and transporting the sorghum to Poland. The butter will be supplied without payment, but the transportation costs will be borne by the Polish Government.

The zloty revenue obtained from the sale of these agricultural products on the Polish market will be deposited in an interest-bearing account that will belong to the joint Polish-American "Commission for Humanitarian Aid." The revenue will be used to finance programs that will seek to raise Polish society's standard of living. The commission will aim to support private economic organizations that lie outside the government system, including individual farms. The commission is made up of representatives of both governmental and nongovernmental organizations. They include representatives of the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry, and Food Economy; the Ministry of Domestic Trade; the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare; the Development of the Polish Agriculture Foundation; the Foundation for Improving the Supply of Water to the Countryside; the Aid Program; the Catholic Aid Service; and the Judica Program. Other nongovernmental organizations that are accepted by the commission will be able to enter the joint Commission for Humanitarian Aid.

The law on aid for Poland that has been passed by the U.S. Congress envisages that our country will receive 8,000 tonnes of agricultural and food products until 1992.

The agreements were signed by Ambassador John R. Davis Jr on behalf of the American Government, and by Andrzej Malinowski, undersecretary of state in the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry, and Food Industries, on behalf of the Polish Government.

Speaking to a PAP journalist, A. Malinowski said: "The agreements are the product of lengthy negotiations. Thanks to the establishment of the joint commission, a system providing humanitarian aid to Poland has been established. A special thanks is owed to the representatives of nongovernmental organizations, who agreed to cooperate in implementing the agreement."

U.S. Ambassador J.R. Davis Jr said he was pleased that the agreements would be used to the benefit of the Polish people. The ambassador stressed that the signing had almost coincided with President Bush's visit. The agreements are a reflection of the warm feelings that the American people have toward the Polish people. J.R. Davis said that he believed that the documents would serve to strengthen Polish-American relations.

General Interviewed on Upcoming U.S. Visit

LD2407201389 Warsaw PAP in English 1438 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 24—A Polish military delegation headed by vice-minister of national defence, General of the Arms Antoni Jasinski will pay a visit the U.S. on the turn of July and August at the invitation from the Joint Staff of U.S. military forces.

In his statement for PAP Jasinski assessed Polish-American military contacts and said:

"We received the invitation to pay the visit with satisfaction. The trip of a delegation of Polish Armed Forces to the United States comes as a consequence of the favourable development of contacts both between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty as well as Polish-U.S. military contacts.

"Several times U.S. officers visited Poland as observers of military exercises of Polish military units, held on-site inspections in line with CSCE Stockholm decisions.

"Last year a visit to Poland was paid by a group of senators, members of the senate armed forces commission who met with the officers of the General Staff of Polish armed forces. We also hosted a visit paid to Poland by special adviser to the U.S. President, secretary of state for arms control and a group of students of the National University of Defence.

"This year Polish military attache in the U.S. and his American counterpart in Poland have held a series of lectures in schools of higher education in the countries of their office.

"Thus we are leaving for the United States convinced that our visit will help consolidate mutual confidence and foster further development of Polish-American cooperation not only in the military plane. I hope that it will be useful.

"Both Polish and American societies share still vivid memories of the joint struggle of the two nations for freedom. Poles and Americans well know the names of Tadeusz Kosciuszko and Kazimierz Pulaski—the heroes of the two nations. Both in the U.S. and in Poland there still live war veterans who, during World War II, struggled together against the common enemy.

"We are going to the United States in the year marking the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II, in which Poland like the U.S. was an active member of the anti-Hitlerite coalition. This is of particular symbolic significance. Both from the historical and present-day point of view, there are many issues that unite us," said Gen Jasinski.

Kohl Orders Suspension of Talks With Poland

AU2007115289 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 20 Jul 89 p 1

[Thomas Urban report: "Talks With Poland Stopped"]

[Text] Bonn, 19 July—Talks on new economic aid for Poland have been suspended on the orders of Chancellor Helmut Kohl. They will be resumed when the new government is in office in Warsaw. According to Bonn, it is true that the election of the president will lead to "a clearer situation," but it is still not known whether the future government will confirm Jaruzelski's representative for the talks with Bonn, Ernest Kucza.

In the Chancellor's Office, where Horst Teltschik is responsible for the talks with Poland, the view prevails that both sides have achieved far-reaching agreement on the basic issues of new agreements. However, it will still take some time to complete the whole package. Only people who are "not familiar with the situation or who are willful" can advise the chancellor to travel to a country where the conditions are so unclear to conduct such "difficult and complicated talks." The chancellor will only travel to Warsaw when the agreements and treaties are completed.

The Chancellor's Office does not want to set a date yet. If Warsaw makes swift progress concerning the process of the formation of public opinion, the trip might take place "at the end of September/beginning of October." According to reports from quarters close to the chancellor, Bonn "will offer more generous aid to Poland than ever before." In view of the significance of this matter, it is not so important after all whether the chancellor travels to Warsaw on 1 September on the anniversary of the outbreak of World War II or later. Kohl has been quoted as saying: "These events can also be commemorated in Bonn."

The treaties with the East concluded by former Chancellor Willy Brandt are viewed by the Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union [CDU/CSU] as the first attempt to achieve reconciliation with Poland. The efforts of his successor Helmut Schmidt, however, were a "setback." The enormous DM1 billion loan, which Schmidt granted then party chief Eduard Gierek, "trickled away" without any results. This view was shared by the delegation of the independent Solidarity trade union, which visited the FRG recently.

The CDU/CSU believes that the FRG cannot afford a "second setback" in relations with Poland. On the other hand, it is pointed out that Poland now wants to make a decisive step toward the FRG and establish dialogue with the Christian Democratic Government. The government and the CDU/CSU support these efforts.

Comment on FRG 'Revanchism'

AU2407170189

[Editorial Report] The Warsaw central dailies; TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish on 6 July on pages 1 and 2 in a 2,000-word commentary signed 'TL', entitled "The Growing Anti-Polish Revisionism in the FRG"; SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish on 10 July on page 5 in a 1,000-word commentary by Ewa Czaczkowska entitled "The Old Off-Key Melody"; SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish on 13 July on pages 1 and 6 in a 2,000-word commentary by Michal Kolodziejczyk entitled "The Return of the 'Dirty German'"; ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish on 13 July on pages 1 and 4 in a 1,000-article by Michal Jaranowski, entitled "The Mystery of the Secret Treaty—Did Adenauer Accept the Odra-Nysa Border?"; and GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish on 13 July on page 7 in a 400-word report by Krystyna Grzybowska entitled "Dispute Over Borders", carry reports and comment by staffers which has been prompted by a revival in the FRG of public political discussion about Germany's 1937 borders and a revival of an anti-Polish 'revanchism'. The ZYCIE WARSZAWY article investigates claims the FRG may already have recognized Poland's western border, and the article in the GAZETA WYBORCZA concentrates on reporting some of the repercussions that the 1937 borders discussion is having in the FRG Government coalition. The TRYBUNA LUDU article states: "In the last few days Bonn has officially announced that the date of the chancellor's Polish visit has been postponed yet again. The talks which were to lead to an agreement are now at an impasse." It refers to the visit of FRG's foreign minister to Warsaw in January 1988, saying: "Both sides announced the renewal of increased efforts to try and achieve the fundamental breakthrough in mutual relations, and this breakthrough was to be endorsed by Chancellor Kohl's visit to Poland." The importance that Poles attach to these negotiations is explained: "A lasting and full normalization of Polish-FRG relations would have had more that the merely symbolic meaning in the current year, which is the 50th anniversary of the German onslaught on Poland and the ensuing World War II, which swept away the lives of 50 million people, 6 million of whom were Polish citizens." Discussing possible reasons for the postponement of the visit, the author says: "The FRG, while increasing its contacts

with the other countries of the Warsaw Pact, is intentionally avoiding Poland." Ideas circulating in the FRG saying there can be no normalization while Poland is internally unstable are described in the article as a "sham" in the light of the still fresh Mitterrand, and Bush visits. "Is the growing might and swelling pride of the FRG trying to force Polish concessions?" asks the author. The author says that recent utterances of some FRG government ministers and notably, by Theo Waigel, FRG's minister of finance, may give an insight into Bonn's game against the Poles and Polish vital interests. The article quotes phrases from Waigel's speech made during the congress of Silesians, phrases such as "German territories beyond the Odra-Nysa Rivers" and "the Reich's 1937 boundaries." "It is no mere accident," says TRYBUNA LUDU, "that the Bundestag had recently rejected a resolution of the Social Democratic Party which called on the FRG to accept the existing borders in Europe, which include the border along the Odra and Nysa Rivers, as well as the border between the GDR and the FRG." It concludes that "The Polish Government cannot remain indifferent to the revisionism in relation to our state, which is being raised to the rank of Bonn's official policy."

In her SZTANDAR MLODYCH commentary, Ewa Czaczkowska begins by quoting the following: "We stress now and for the future the importance of the Warsaw Pact and the inviolability of the border between the FRG and Poland stemming from the treaty, and the respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all European states in their present boundaries. The FRG and Poland do not have any mutual territorial pretensions and will not have any such pretensions in the future." Those words were uttered, she writes, by Chancellor Kohl 4 years ago at the same rally that Waigel addressed this year. In a recent interview Kohl gave for German television, she points out that there was none of this certainty. "Kohl addressed his television audience in a completely different language, no longer so clear and definite as he had done 4 years ago at the reunion of the Silesian Community," she says. "He did not give a precise answer to the direct question on the 1970 Treaty between Poland and the FRG and the western border of Poland. There is no need to reopen discussion on the borders, the Chancellor reassured his audience." Czaczkowska however feels that a more definitive statement was called for: "Clearly such an unambiguous statement would have firmly put an end to the recently renewed speculations on the German question" she writes. "After the series of negotiations on the Chancellor's visit which lasted over several months and the assurances of goodwill, of common interest in the creation of the 'common European home' we now hear words which undermine the credibility of the dialogue, because they are directed the heart of Polish sovereignty." Czaczkowska admits that Waigel may have had no option: "When in Rome, Waigel had to do as the Romans do, but 4 years ago this did not stop Kohl from doing otherwise." She sees the Bundestag rejection of the Social Democratic Party resolution as being mainly linked to the shift of position of Heiner Geissler, secretary general of the Christian Democrats who, she says, "was hitherto regarded as the 'black sheep' of the party and criticized by the extreme right wing of the Christian Democrats, known as the 'steel helmets', for his project of seeing the opportunity for the unification of Germany linked to a relinquishing of claims on the eastern territories." She concludes: "It is surprising and sad that 50 years after the outbreak of war and 40 years after the founding of the FRG, Bonn should wish to play the same old tune."

In the SLOWO POWSZECHNE commentary Michal Kolodziejczyk points out that there have always been long-term differences between Bonn and Warsaw which stem from the former's acceptance of a revisionist legal line. "The whole legal structure of the FRG serves to preserve unification tendencies and to recover all territories of the Third Reich in its 1937 borders" he explains. "Each successive Bonn government becomes a prisoner of the wording in the preamble of the FRG's Fundamental Law which enshrines the aim of an eventual unification." He writes: "It is becoming increasingly more difficult for realistically thinking political forces in Poland to ignore the growth of anti-Polish sentiment in a country which is our major economic Western partner," after which he says: "It had appeared that primitive revisionist propaganda had been consigned to the past and that in the battle of strategies we had seen the victory of the Hans-Dietrich Genscher line which is based on a 'feel' for East European realities, the utilization of economic might as the main weapon in extending influence and national interest in the region, a wise propagation of its own political model, and the establishment of social, cultural, and scientific contacts." Kolodziejczyk points out that whereas the development of relations between the FRG and the Soviet Union was accepted by all the Bundestag political forces and was the subject of harmonious cooperation between the FRG's Foreign Ministry and the Chancellor's Office, "relations with Poland have lately come under the exclusive competence of the Chancellor's Office, where the Genscherites have little influence." He maintains that the Republican successes in the recent FRG elections to the European Parliament indicate a return of the old German mentality at a time when the FRG has become the affirmed NATO power in Europe and a world economic power with its exports greater than that of the United States. Waigel is seen by Kolodziejczyk as trying to politically woo this new German political voice as possible future votes for his party. Kolodziejczyk concludes that the FRG must answer the following question: "Is the FRG interested in stabilization and in supporting Poland as one of the cornerstones of a new Europe, or is this new Europe to be only a means for its own ends?"

In her GAZETA WYBORCZA article Krystyna Grzybowska reports that the Waigel speech has precipitated a coalition crisis in Bonn, and that both Genscher and Kohl have personally had to intervene in the controversy. She writes: "Thursday's edition of STERN carries an interview with Hans-Dietrich Genscher, FRG foreign

minister, in which he states that the principle of the inviolability of Poland's borders is a precondition of the existence of the present Christian-Liberal coalition." "Genscher," she continues, "cannot remain silent on the speech Waigel made. For the Free Democratic Party, the spirit and letter of the treaty signed in Warsaw is the basis of its participation in government." She reports: "Chancellor Kohl has finally had to intervene in the dispute by issuing a statement that although legally and politically the German question remains wide open, he warns that it will not be the legalistic interpretation that will finally decide the question of the unity of the German nation and of Germany, but freedom, human rights and self-determination. The German and Polish nations' desire for freedom cannot be mutually confronted." She concludes by noting that Genscher has also written a letter to Herbert Czai, the chairman of the Union of the Expelled, in which he criticises him for publishing remarks appearing in the organ of the union which purport to deny that there was any element of aggression on the part of the Germans in 1939.

In the ZYCIE WARSZAWY article, Michal Jaranowski discusses the 'revisionist' controversy. He writes: "Bonn has been rocked by a political sensation, namely, that Konrad Adenauer, the first FRG Chancellor purportedly recognized the Odra-Nysa line in a secret protocol to the 1952 FRG Treaty." Jaranowski states that Professor Karl Kaiser, director of the German Institute for Foreign Affairs, revealed this fact at a session of the Institute for German Studies in the United States. He quotes Kaiser in a subsequent interview as saying: "The Western Powers considered it important that the Germany which was to arise must not raise the territorial question, other than within the framework of the Potsdam Treaty. Adenauer also recognized that there would be no progress in the question of German unification if the issue of the territorial status quo were to be put into question. The two sides compromised and the chancellor received Western assurances on the question of German unification, and this is reflected in the 1952 Treaty. On the other hand, the allies received assurances from Adenauer that the Odra-Nysa line was to be the permanent border. This aspect, however, was kept secret. Adenauer signed a unilateral statement, copies of which are in Bonn, London, Paris, and Washington." Jaranowski speculates why Kaiser should have made this fact public now. He quotes Kaiser: "It is important for all those people who think in terms of a 1937 Germany and think the territorial question can be raised against Poland. These people must now accept that the first FRG Chancellor bound the FRG to respect the Odra-Nysa border." The article concludes: "Adenauer's wisdom, which made him a great statesman, allowed him to perceive that any territorial claims against Poland would always prove to be a stumbling-block to any eventual settlement of the German question. That is why the present discussion is, in effect, pointless."

Western Border Debate in FRG 'Disgraceful'

AU2507081389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Jul 89 p 5

[Daniel Lulinski commentary: "When Will Kohl Finally Put A Stop to the 'Border Debate' With Poland?"]

[Excerpts] Everybody who read the FRG press on Monday [17 July] must have felt that they were not in the Europe of 1989, but in an irrational world, somewhere in the sphere of mythology and political absurdity.

In the federal capital there still rages within the ranks of the government coalition, and between the opposition and the Christian-Democratic parties in the Bundestag, what the FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG calls in its front page headline: "A Continuing Conflict In Bonn on the Subject of Relations With Warsaw." [passage omitted]

Thus, the subject of Poland's western border, 44 years after Germany's unconditional surrender as a result of losing World War II, finds itself in the spotlight of debate among politicians of all shades. The press too is devoting a lot of attention to the "border discussion" 19 years after the treaty on normalizing mutual relations between Poland and the FRG. It must be a cause for deep reflection for every foreign observer of the Bonn political scene that 3 weeks after the revisionist speech made by Waigel there are still disputes and continuing debates in the FRG capital and the whole press about whether the German Reich still exists de jure in its 1937 borders, a presumption which would include over 100,000 square kilometers of Poland's western and northern territories, and the Soviet Kaliningrad region.

Will these "legal" territorial pretensions vis-a-vis Poland and the Soviet Union prove a stumbling block in the sphere of political practicalities between these states? In a joint Kohl-Gorbachev declaration issued in Bonn on 13 June, the FGR Government confirmed that the basis of its relations with the Soviet Union is the Moscow Treaty of 12 August 1970. This treaty unambiguously defines the FRG's obligations not to have any territorial pretensions, now or in future, vis-a-vis Poland or the GDR. This is the basis of peace in Europe, states the Moscow Treaty. [passage omitted]

The continuation of this border debate in the FRG is all the more curious after the 11 July declaration made by Professor Kaiser, the distinguished political scientist, which revealed that already in 1951-1952 Chancellor Adenauer had accepted the unreality of clinging to the Reich's 1937 borders and, vis-a-vis the Western Allies, undertook to accept the immutability of the Odra-Nysa line as Poland's western border. [passage omitted]

The 3 weeks which have elapsed since Waigel's revisionist speech in Hanover and the continuing disgraceful polemics on the subject of Poland's "western border" have confirmed the harmful effects that this is having on

the climate and the practicalities of Polish-West German relations. All the more so as the political leaders of the Christian Socialists have not stopped their search for any pretext which will disturb the relations with Poland. The latest example of this is the declaration of the leader of the Christian Socialist parliamentary group in the Bundestag that he is opposed to the inclusion of a group of young deputies from the Bavarian Christian Democrats in the party of young Bundestag deputies who have been invited to Warsaw by the Polish Sejm for a congress of young parliamentarians from the 35 CSCU countries, organized on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of World War II. [passage omitted]

There seems to be no end in sight to the debates on the subject of Poland's western border. It really is high time that Chancellor Kohl and the FRG president put a conclusive stop to the disgraceful debates which are putting a strain on the dialogue and relations between Bonn and Warsaw.

Unnamed GDR Opposition Member Interviewed

AU2407192989 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 12 Jul 89 p 6

[Interview with unnamed "activist" of the East German "Arche" Independent Initiative by Michal Cichy: "A Beginning"—date and place not given]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Cichy] What is your assessment of the observance of human rights in the GDR?

[Answer] As far as the freedom to travel is concerned, the situation has improved a little over the last year. Before that no one under the age of sixty-five could travel to the West. Now, if you have some relative or close friend in the FRG, you can visit him on, for example, his fiftieth birthday. However, it still depends on what the police decide. It is somewhat easier to travel to communist countries, but before you can go to Poland, the USSR, or Yugoslavia you need an invitation. Besides, in these cases you also need a visa from the police.

We have set up a kind of travel bureau of our own in order to develop foreign contacts. Thanks to this, guests from outside the GDR can come to our seminars, and sometimes one of us can go to visit them. We maintain links with the international "Green Way" movement, and we have also had occasional meetings with members of the Polish "Freedom and Peace" movement.

[Cichy] What about military service?

[Answer] A special form of alternative service has existed in the GDR since 1962. It involves working in factories, mainly chemical factories, and although you are not issued weapons, you wear a uniform and serve in a regular unit. We are proposing the introduction of alternative service without the uniforms and barracks, and the possibility of, for example, working in hospitals.

[Cichy] We have recently been hearing a lot about elections in the GDR.

[Answer] That is right; we had local government elections in May. It was an exceptionally important experience for the entire non-official movement. Our groups tried to put forward independent candidates, but without any success. It also turned out to be impossible to monitor voting at polling stations. However, on those few occasion when we did manage to follow the voting, we were able to establish that results were being extensively manipulated to the advantage of National Front candidates. Many people wrote to the authorities to complain, but did not receive a reply. Others filed suit against certain electoral commissions. Some of the people involved in these actions were forced to leave the country. This sparked further protests. Now there are regular marches in the streets of Berlin, Leipzig, and some other towns. The police presence at these events is so great that I think that we are always outnumbered by them.

[Cichy] Are there arrests?

[Answer] No one is in prison at the moment. As a rule, all those who take part in protest marches are detained for a few hours, the organizers are detained for a day or two and are then released. Recently, five members of various independent groups left the GDR after being threatened. Last year, the artist Baerbel Bohley [name as published], a member of the Peace and Human Rights Initiative, was allowed to return after being forced to go to the FRG for about 6 months.

[Cichy] Thank you for the conversation.

[Answer] I would like to ask a favor: I would prefer to remain anonymous if that would be possible. I would like to congratulate you warmly on your election success once again. For us, free elections are a long way off.

Commission To Promote Links With Poles Abroad

LD2407140989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] The Senate Emigration and Diaspora Commission has constituted itself. Almost 30 senators have declared their participation in it. Senator Edmund Jan Osmanczyk is chairman and the deputy chairmen are Senators Ryszard Reiff and Erwin Kruk. The aim of the Commission is the preparation of legal norms guaranteeing unhindered bilateral links between the country and the emigration and also between the Polish diaspora and the country. [as heard]

PAP Reports EEC Food Aid Approval

LD2407211789 Warsaw PAP in English
1838 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] Brussels, July 24—The EEC Council of Ministers of agriculture approved here today the principles for granting Poland immediate food assistance. The communique on the matter proposed by the EEC commission says that the single action of food aid covers free deliveries of the following goods: 500,000 tonnes of food grain, 300,000 tonnes of feed grain (corn, barley, rye), 10,000 tonnes of beef, 5,000 tonnes of olive oil, 20,000 tonnes of citrus fruit (approximate numerical data). It has not been ruled out that other goods may also be included on the list.

The council set the worth of the assistance programme at 110 million ECU [European currency unit] plus 15-20 million ECU to cover the cost of transport to the Polish border.

Before January 31, 1990 the commission will submit its report on the realization of the action to the EEC.

In the conversation with PAP correspondent, the chairman of the Council of Ministers, French Minister of Agriculture Henri Nallet pointed to the speed with which the council approved the principles of assistance for Poland. At first, it was to be the last point on the agenda of the two-day meeting. But it was deemed that the matter should be reviewed at the very beginning. It is a meaningful political signal, the minister said.

Baka Commission Adopts Position on Economy

LD2507031789 Warsaw PAP in English
2108 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 24—PUWP [Polish United Workers' Party] Central Committee Socio-Economic Commission which met here today under the chairmanship of Wladyslaw Baka was against the introduction of free market rules in food economy starting August 1. The commission adopted a position on the condition of the economy and measures which are necessary to improve it.

The objection against operations proposed for next week and entailing major economic consequences does not, of course, mean that the Commission is against the very idea of introducing market mechanisms in the entire economy, including food economy. Conversely, the Commission believes that the recovery of the seriously ailing Polish economy exactly depends on the fact.

This is why the Commission members had favoured immediate switching over to market mechanisms, especially that farmers and city dwellers are looking forward to it.

It was said during a discussion that time which has elapsed since last March when the issue was debated at the round table, has been wasted by the present cabinet. Neither the operation itself nor its backup, for example, alternative supply possibilities, have been organized. A decision pertaining to such a socially sensitive part of the economy should be taken by the parliament and implemented by a new government.

As long as order is not made in market relations of the remaining sectors of national economy, as long as the Polish currency which organizes life does not get stronger, Professor Baka said, a one-time plunge into free market rules threatens, among other dangers, with intensification of the contradiction between urban and rural population and an eruption of a social conflict.

In general terms, an important causative factor of the present economic collapse was a wrong notion that market mechanisms introduced regardless of the circumstances must bring about progress. This has led to voluntaristic moves resulting, instead of progress, in a regress. An intensification of the economic policy trends observed in the first half of this year would be a straight road to catastrophe. Hence, while continuing the general option for market economy, it is necessary to determine which particular mechanisms can be effective under the unique Polish conditions.

The commission has adopted a position in which it is very critical about the government economic policy, wants its profound revision and quick development of an emergency programme whose implementation would halt the downward trends in production, improve the market supplies, and clearly curb inflation.

Farmers Announce Strike Alert, Block Roads

LD2507073989 Wroclaw Domestic Service in Polish 1405 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] There has been growing discontent among farmers at the worsening economic situation in the countryside. A strike alert has been announced all over the country, including Lower Silesia. We have been informed by strike committies that tomorrow protest actions will take place in many parishes of Wolbrzych Voivodship. Some roads will be blocked by tractors and machines.

Authorities Statement on Auschwitz Controversy

LD2507030589 Warsaw PAP in English
2245 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 24—Asked by PAP about the situation which has aroused over the Carmelite convent in Oswiecim (Auschwitz), government press office has been authorized to publish the following stance of the authorities:

The state authorities are concerned about the recently growing tension over the convent and they appeal for consideration, understanding, and peace. Especially at a place which is a symbol of martyrdom of millions people of all creeds and nationalities.

The request of the Carmelite convent for permission to move into the building at the site of the former Nazi concentration camp Auschwitz-Birkenau was accepted by the Office for Religious Affairs in 1983. Before that nobody had shown interest in the place where the convent building is situated.

As late as in December, 1985, representatives of some Jewish circles filed objections over the localisation of the convent. There were direct contacts between the Catholic Church in Poland and other European countries, and Jewish organisations. On February 22, 1987, an agreement was signed in Geneva on the construction in Auschwitz of a centre of information, education, meetings, and prayer, to which the Carmelite convent will be moved. The construction has not started so far and the convent remains in the old place. There were protests over this fact recently at the walls of the convent, staged by foreign Jewish groups visiting the former concentration camp.

The state authorities are not involved. Yet, it is their strong desire that this question be solved possibly soon in the spirit of the Geneva agreement.

The Metropolitan Curia filed an application for a location of the centre on March 10, 1989 and the final decision came June 15. The beginning of construction and its financing do not concern state authorities but the parties to the Geneva agreement.

Further fanning up of the tension also has a negative international effect shortly before the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War 2 and it dampens the eloquence of Jewish and Polish martyrology.

Three Athletes Defect, Request Training in Sweden
AU2507083789 Paris AFP in English 0827 GMT 25 Jul 89

[Text] Malmo, Sweden, July 25 (AFP)—Three Romanian footballers walked into a police station here and requested to be allowed to stay in Sweden or to travel on to West Germany.

The three, whose names were not disclosed but were all said to be aged between 19 and 21, are members of the Rapid Bucharest squad who played Gothenburg side Orgryte IS in a Summer Cup match last week.

It was understood they contacted a Romanian national living in Gothenburg by telephone, asking him to find a Swedish club prepared to sign them or allow them to train with the squad.

But the case could pose problems for any club willing to take the players on, as they could come into conflict with FIFA [International Federation of Association Football] rules on foreign players.

Anders Brulin of the Swedish Football Association said: "As a general rule, the country of origin has to issue a certificate releasing a player and authorising him to play abroad.

"There is no guarantee that the Romanian federation will do so for the three players currently in Sweden and without that authorisation, under FIFA rules, they would have to wait a year before being allowed to play."

Ceausescu Sends Congratulations to Jaruzelski
AU2407125389 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 21 Jul 89 p 5

[Message from President Nicolae Ceausescu "To Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski on His Being Elected President of the Polish People's Republic"]

[Text] To Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, president of the Polish People's Republic:

Esteemed Comrade Jaruzelski, on behalf of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania and on my own behalf I want to convey warm congratulations on your election as president of the Polish People's Republic, together with wishes for success in fulfilling the highly responsible mission entrusted to you, and wishes for much good health and happiness.

I want to express the conviction that, working together on the basis of and in the spirit of what has been agreed during the talks in Bucharest and Warsaw, our relations of traditional friendship and the cooperation between our countries and peoples will continue to expand and intensify in all areas, in the interest of the Romanian and Polish peoples and of the cause of socialism, peace, and international understanding.

Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Ceausescu, Dascalescu Note Polish National Day
AU2407141789 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 22 Jul 89 p 5

[Telegram from President Nicolae Ceausescu and Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu to Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party and President of the Polish People's Republic, and Mieczyslaw Rakowski, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, on the 45th anniversary of Poland's Day of Rebirth]

[Text] To Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] and President of the Polish People's Republic [PPR],

To Comrade Mieczyslaw Rakowski, chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers,

Dear comrades, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], the State Council and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the whole Romanian nation, and ourselves personally, we extend to you, the PPR party-state leadership, and the friendly Polish people warm comradely greetings and most heartfelt congratulations on your great national holiday, the 45th anniversary of Poland's Day of Rebirth.

In the 45 years since your fatherland's liberation from Hitlerite domination, the Polish workers class and nation, under the leadership of the PZPR, have attained outstanding successes and achievements in building socialism, developing the country's economic, scientific-technical, and cultural potential, and raising the working people's material and intellectual living standard.

On this occasion, we express the firm conviction that, by working together in the spirit of and on the basis of our mutual agreements, the relations of traditional friendship and comprehensive cooperation between the RCP and the PZPR, and between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the PPR will continue to expand and deepen in all spheres, to the benefit of the Romanian and Polish peoples and in the interest of the general cause of socialism, peace, detente, and cooperation in the world.

Dear comrades, on your great jubilee, we wish you, the Communists, and all the Polish people new and great successes in Poland's firm march forward along the road

of socialism, in the efforts to ensure the well-being of the friendly Polish people, and in the struggle for peace, democracy, progress, and cooperation among all nations in the world.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Ceausescu Greets Mubarak on Egypt's National Day

AU2507071989 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 23 Jul 89 p 5

[Telegram from President Nicolae Ceausescu to Muhammad Husni Mubarak, president of the Arab Republic of Egypt, on Egypt's National Day]

[Text] To Mr Muhammad Husni Mubarak, President of the Arab Republic of Egypt, Cairo:

On the National Day of the Arab Republic of Egypt, I take great pleasure in extending to you warm congratulations.

I am convinced that the friendship and cooperation between our countries will continue to develop and expand, to the benefit of the Romanian and Egyptian peoples and in the interest of the overall cause of peace and cooperation in the world.

I take this opportunity to extend to you best wishes for personal health and happiness and for the friendly Egyptian people's well-being and prosperity.

Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Ceausescu Meets Constanta County Party Leaders

AU2407201689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1944 GMT 24 Jul 89

["Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu Receive Delegation of Constanta County Party Organization"]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 24/7/1989—On July 24 RCP [Romanian Communist Party] General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, president of Romania, and Mme Elena Ceausescu received a delegation of Constanta County party organization, at Neptun resort.

The delegation presented the head of the RCP and the Romanian state the homage of the people living in that zone of the country, on the occasion of 24 years since the day when Nicolae Ceausescu was elected by the will of the entire nation to the supreme leading office within the party, by the Ninth RCP Congress, an event of decisive importance for the destiny of the homeland and of the Romanian people, which inaugurated the time of the most brilliant achievements in Romania's history.

Taking the floor on behalf of the Communists and of all the working people in the county, Mihai Marina, the first secretary of Constanta County RCP Committee, paid a warm tribute to President Nicolae Ceausescu for the activity he has devoted for nearly six decades to the cause of the party and the people, for his decisive contribution to the working out and implementation of the domestic and foreign policy of the party and the state, to Romania's incessant progress, to strengthening its independence and sovereignty. Sharing the will of the whole party and people, the working people of Constanta express at the same time their total adhesion to the proposal made by the party Central Committee that the 14th Congress should reinvest you to the supreme office of general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, with the unflinching belief that your continued presence at the head of the party and of the country makes the guarantee for the materialization of the goals in the great programme to be endorsed with a view to ensuring the successful construction of the multilaterally developed socialist society and the firm progress of the homeland towards communism, the speaker said.

The fact that today Romania is free and blossoming, really independent economically and politically, with a modern industry and an agriculture in full swing, with a high development level of science, education and culture, with an original system, unique of its kind, of democratic organization and management of activities in all spheres apt to ensure the whole people's real participation in the elaboration and implementation of the programmes of building the new society is decisively due to those huge openings and unleashing of energies brought about by the Ninth Party Congress upon your initiative and on the basis of your thinking, the speaker pointed out.

RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu spoke next.

Ceausescu Addresses Group

AU2407200489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1853 GMT 24 Jul 89

["Speech Made by President Nicolae Ceausescu on Receiving the Delegation of Constanta County Party Organization"]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 24/7/1989—Taking the floor on July 24, while receiving a delegation of Constanta County party organizations, RCP [Romanian Communist Party] General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu thanked for the congratulations addressed to him on the celebration of 24 years since his election [as] party general secretary by the Ninth RCP Congress.

Generally speaking we have made many achievements in the socialist years. We have turned the country from a poorly developed agroindustrial state into an industrial-agrarian country in full progress in all the domains. All these prove the force and capacity of the RCP which has been creditably fulfilling its historic mission to lead the Romanian people along the path of socialism and communism, well-being, happiness, of genuine freedom and independence, the RCP general secretary said. He also stressed that all these achievements are the outcome of the work done by the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, by the whole nation, which in full unity and under the leadership of the Communist Party has carried out the domestic and foreign policy of the RCP and the Romanian state.

Showing that also this year there have been achieved good results both in the industry and in agriculture, Nicolae Ceausescu addressed warm congratulations to all the county party committees, to all the working people in all the areas of activity.

Next, the RCP general secretary said: We must firmly pursue a policy of collaboration with all the states of the world, irrespective of their social system, for disarmament and, especially, for the elimination of nuclear weapons, for the settlement of the serious underdevelopment-related problems, for new-type international economic relations of equity, equality and mutual advantage, for the building of a better and more just world. This calls for a firm attitude against the policies promoted by the big imperialist powers, by the financial capital and monopolies which want to further the policy of domination and oppression of the great majority of mankind.

The meeting of the seven heads of state of developed capitalist countries which assumed the right to teach lessons and establish how mankind should develop proves that they cannot and will not be able to solve the problems of concern to over five thousand million people. Only united can the peoples put an end to the policy of imperialist domination of monopolies and financial capital, can they promote a new policy in the international life in which each people should develop freely, as it wishes.

I stress all this because, were we to speak about the road traversed in 24 years, we must show we intend to take firmer steps ahead toward the multilaterally developed socialist society, toward communism. The documents endorsed by the June plenary meeting of the party Central Committee give a clear perspective. All party organizations must commit themselves with all their forces to thoroughly debating these documents within the party and with the entire people so as, by adopting the programme for the country's future development, the 14th congress should be given the consent of the whole nation, the speaker said in conclusion.

GNA's Giosan Receives Brazil Parliamentarians

AU2407121989 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 21 Jul 89 p 4

[Text] On Thursday 20 July Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly, met a Brazilian parliamentary delegation headed by Luiz Henrique da Silveira, general secretary of the Presidium of the Chamber of Deputies of the National Congress of the Federative Republic of Brazil, who is paying a visit to our country at the invitation of the Grand National Assembly.

On this occasion, the sides emphasized the positive course of Romanian-Brazilian relations, the role of dialogue between the two parliaments and of parliamentarians in the two countries in expanding bilateral cooperation in fields of mutual interest. Likewise, the sides stressed the significance of the contribution made by parliamentarians in finding solutions to the complex issues in world political life and in increasing their cooperation in ensuring a climate of security and cooperation in the world.

The Brazilian guests also held talks with Ioan Ungur, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, and at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The sides discussed possibilities of expanding and diversifying Romanian-Brazilian cooperation in various spheres of activity and discussed issues of the current international situation.

Aircraft Industry Export Achievements Reviewed

AU2207135989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0920 GMT 22 Jul 89

["Export-Bound Products of the Aircraft Industry"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 22/7/1989—Romania boasts an over 80-year-old experience in manufacturing planes and other flying crafts. The history of world aviation gives pride of place to the names of Romanian inventors and builders of aircrafts, such as Traian Vuia, Aurel Vlaicu, Henri Coanda (the builder of the first plane propelled by a jet engine), Gogu Constantinescu (the father of the science of sonics), Elie Carafoli (the founder of a true Romanian school of building modern flying crafts), etc.

At present Romania has large enterprises manufacturing aircraft, engines and switchboards, an Institute of Design and Technological Engineering for Aviation (INCREST), as well as a centre of flying tests and training, all of them coordinated by the National Centre of the Romanian Aircraft Industry (CNIAR). A front-ranking place is held by the Brasov-based aircraft enterprise (set up in 1925 and therefore relying on a vast experience), as well as by the modern enterprise of

airplanes in Bucharest, which turns out the ROMBAC 1-11 passenger, medium carrier plane in cooperation with British Aerospace, as well as the BN-2 Islander multipurpose aircraft.

The export list of the Technoimportexport foreign trade company includes the ROMBAC 1-11 passenger plane too, which can be seen on 42 large airfields in Europe, Asia and Africa, served by the Romanian Airlines TAROM. The craft is manufactured and exported in the following constructive variants: passenger—with 65, 86, 89, 109 and 119 seats; cargo—with a loading capacity of 9,525 kg and {word indistinct}—adapted to the client's special order.

At the same time, the Romanian firms export: the BN-2 airplanes, manufactured in cooperation with Pilatus Britten, which can be designed as either taxi planes (10 seats), as well as ambulance, farming, cargo, a variant for photogrammetry and surveillance; the IAR-330 L Puma and IAR-316 Balouette III helicopters manufactured by the Brasov enterprise according to a licence of the French company Aerospatiale. They are delivered in several variants—passenger, ambulance, freight-carrying aircraft for building sites, agriculture, photogrammetry, surveillance, etc., gliders and motor gliders (for training, performance and acrobatics, with one or two seats); IAR 28 MA light aircrafts for training and acrobatics, equipped with Limbach engines (80 hp), etc.

The Romanian aircraft industry continuously expands its list of export-bound products. Tested for homologation are now two new types of aircraft designed for various farming works (the capacity of their tanks ranges between 1,200 and 1,050 liters of chemicals).

5,000 Citizens Attend Nevesinje Protest Meeting

AU2407183989 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 21 Jul 89

[Text] At a protest meeting in Nevesinje, some 5,000 citizens demanded that the entire communal leadership tender its resignation within 2 hours of the end of the protest meeting. We have just received a report from Sarajevo correspondent Milivoje Bekan:

At the request of the organizational committee, the president and secretary of the League of Communists of the Communal Committee, the president of the communal trade union organization, the president of the Executive Council of the Communal Assembly, and the president of the Communal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People, decided to tender their irrevocable resignations after the meeting.

The president of the Communal Conference of the League of Socialist Youth subsequently offered his resignation. Although his resignation was not demanded, the acting president of the Communal Assembly announced that he will step down as candidate for this post. The statement issued states that the collective resignation of the organs of the sociopolitical organizations cannot be tendered before they have held their sessions.

The decision regarding the heads of organs who are not members of the Executive Council of the Communal Assembly will be made by the Communal Assembly which appointed them.

The decision about the Communal Assembly officials, who were in breach of the Constitution and the law, will be made by the self-managing organs which elected them.

The number of participants in the meeting is already falling, but the impression is still the same. The most persistent participants are still patiently waiting and continuing to demand the resignation of the leadership of the communal secretariat for internal affairs, although they were categorically told that this is impossible before the next session of the Communal Assembly, scheduled for 28 July, convenes.

It is also important to mention that so far there have been no incidents. Also, there has be no evidence of bigger groups of citizens in this protest who are not from this commune.

At the meeting itself there were many banners: Down with bureaucracy; Long live democracy; We want justice; We demand the resignations of bureaucrats; Long live brotherhood and unity; Down with thieves; Where is the public loan for employment; We want a united Yugoslavia; The Neum scandal [words indistinct].

A group of citizens carried a banner with posters of Slobodan Milosevic and Njegos.

More on Protest Meeting

LD2407180289

[Editorial Report] Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian on 21 and 22 July carry a number of short reports on a protest meeting in Nevesinje, Bosnia-Hercegovina on 21 July.

At 1356 GMT on 21 July TANJUG reports that about 5,000 people in Nevesinje held a protest meeting demanding the resignation of the municipal leadership for what they called a failed regional development policy. TANJUG adds that Nevesinje is one of the least developed in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

At 1654 GMT on 21 July TANJUG reports that the sociopolitical aktiv of Nevesinje municipality adopted the demand of the protest's organizational committee calling for the resignation of the municipality's leaders.

At 1142 GMT on 22 July TANJUG reports "At its session in Sarajevo this afternoon the Bosnia-Hercegovina Executive Council considered the current events in Nevesinje and pointed out that the organization of all public meetings must be strictly in accordance with law and that the responsible state organs should authorize them and ensure public peace and order. The organizers of such meetings. are also responsible for ensuring public peace and order."

Korosec, Skundric Talk With Afghan Official

LD2407172289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1436 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, July 24 (TANJUG)—Presidency Secretary of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Stefan Korosec today received Politbureau member of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan Najmuddin Kawiani, in Yugoslavia as guest of the LCY.

The focal topic of the talk was the situation in Afghanistan and possibilities for its peaceful solution. Both sides expressed the conviction that the efforts of all interested sides would be directed to respecting the will of the Afghan people and Afghanistan's neutral and nonaligned status.

Kawiani was also received by LCY Presidency member Petar Skundric. Views were exchanged on the bilateral cooperation between the two parties, as part of the intensification of the overall ties between the two nonaligned countries.

Drnovsek Addresses Newly Graduated Army Officers

LD2207140989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0851 GMT 22 Jul 89

["Speech by SFRY President Janez Drnovsek at graduation ceremony for new officers of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA]"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Jul (TANJUG)—On behalf of the SFRY Presidency and myself, I greet you and congratulate you on receiving the first ranks of active officers in

the YPA. Today is an important occasion for you, your parents and relatives, your teachers and officers, our armed forces and society as a whole. In this event, society is gaining a new generation of well-educated officers for its army and educators for our young generation. I hope that your future work in the units and institutions of our armed forces will be successful and full of personal satisfaction and happiness in life.

This major traditional ceremony is being held at a time when our country finds itself in a serious political and economic situation. The basic causes of the crisis lie in certain weaknesses of the economic and political system of our society, in which unfavorable international economic conditions have also played a major part. The consequences of this are many years of stagnation in economic growth, high unemployment, a decline in personal and overall social living standards, and social tension. The exceptionally high inflation is an accumulative expression of our economic and political crisis.

Parallelling the worsening of the economic situation, there has also been a deterioration in intranational and interrepublican relations. This development is partly the result of the poor economic situation of all our federal units and their struggle between themselves for material distribution.

In conditions of an increasing low standard of living and an increase in unemployment, people are losing their sense of prospects in life and their faith in the institutions of our system, and easily become associated with various irrational movements, such as the different forms of nationalism. They look for the reasons for the worsening of their own situation among their neighbors and seek enemies against whom they can direct the dissatisfaction of their own nation. The dissatisfaction of the nations is justified, as are the demands of our people that the leadership should find ways out of the crisis situation. However, what is unjustified and exceptionally dangerous is the manipulation of such sentiments and the incitement of nationalism. Instead of joining forces to find ways out of the serious situation in constructive dialogue and a spirit of friendship, we are wasting energy and time in mutual recrimination and conflict.

Few countries in the world have the historical experience of the dangers of nationalism that Yugoslavia has. These experiences should be a constant reminder to us. Our country also has behind it experience of a long and peaceful coexistence. Intranational equilibrium and equality of all nations and nationalities are the fundamental prerequisite for coexistence in our federal state. For decades we have succeeded in creating and maintaining that equilibrium. The YPA has always played a vital role in this. Even today it remains outside nationalistic disturbances. With its high-level performance, the YPA is an efficient organization which is prepared to carry out its tasks and to oppose any aggressor. In its serious and competent work, it represents a model for all other organs and organizations in the country. The YPA has also made its own contribution to overcoming the crisis through a rationalization of its work, and is also making efforts to implement the processes of its modernization with as little social expense as possible. The reduction of military outgoings has not endangered the combat readiness and efficiency of our Army. I believe that it is appropriate to state that the YPA today is one of the main factors of stability in our society, and thereby also one of the factors in overcoming the present general crisis with the aim of furthering the democratization of our society and promoting its economic efficiency.

Important qualitative changes have transpired in the principal directions of relations in the world, particularly between the superpowers and blocs. Tension and confrontation are being increasingly replaced by negotiation and agreement, and the first steps are being seen toward the limitation and reduction of nuclear and other arms. The present positive trends reduce the danger of war, but their eventual outcome is as yet uncertain. This is partly because some of the basic contradictions in the world are still not being resolved, in the first place, the differences in the degree of economic and scientific-technological development between individual countries and regions.

It cannot be expected that relaxation of tension, disarmament, peace, and security will have firm foundations, if at the same time the dramatic deepening of the differences between the developed and underdeveloped parts of the world continues. History reminds us that economic stagnation, crises, and backwardness in development engender social conflicts. Every local armed conflict carries the danger of the collapse of the fragile construction of detente. Thus, it is the joint responsibility of all, the developed and the less developed, to seek a way out of the situation in which a number of developing countries find themselves, particularly those beset with debts which have no prospects for emerging from the crisis by means of their own accumulation. Herein lie the main messages of the forthcoming summit of nonaligned countries in Belgrade.

Yugoslavia has for decades been consolidating its international position and building its security on the basis of a principled policy of peace, cooperation, and understanding among nations, and has gained respect in the world for this. It should be borne in mind that the international position of any country is one of the essential elements of its overall security.

Numerous processes of integration and the creation of a common market are in progress in the world, particularly in Europe. The SFRY Presidency supports more intensive involvement in the processes of international integration, particularly in Europe. At a time when Europe has forgotten and overcome its former antagonisms, and has entered into processes of supranational integration, it would be incomprehensible for internal antagonisms in Yugoslavia to again lead to confrontations instead of cooperation.

I believe, however, that the effective implementation of economic reform will create the objective conditions for the reduction of the present intranational and social tension. The systemic changes currently under way will facilitate greater autonomy and accountability of our enterprises and banks. A decisive contribution to this change will be made by the formation of enterprises which are basic market subjects, banks which are independent financial organizations, the unburdening of the economy, encouragement of development by various forms of ownership, the development of private initiative, and the rapid development of certain hitherto neglected economic activities—such as small businesses, agriculture, tourism, and so on, and accelerating industrial cooperation with foreign partners and the greater inflow of foreign capital, above all, in the form of joint investment in our economy. Despite the still serious burden of foreign debt repayments, our balance of payments position has improved and possibilities are being created for the reestablishment of stable economic growth. Ahead of us is a decisive period in which the economic policy measures being taken by the Federal Executive Council should also take effect in halting and reducing inflation. This is a crucial moment, when our overall economic and political crisis should reach its lowest point and a general improvement in all economic and social performances should follow. I am firmly convinced that the initial results in the reduction of inflation should have exceptionally great importance and contribute to the revival of optimism and self-motivation, which are an essential condition for overcoming the crisis.

In addition to economic reforms, we must also carry out political reforms. The SFRY Presidency decided to propose an initiative for a change in the SFRY Constitution. Before us is a broad, comprehensive discussion on essential questions of our relations in the federation, the functioning of the federation, political pluralism, the character of social property, the electoral system, the protection of the rights of every individual, and other matters. The new constitution should proceed from the positive and negative experiences we have had in the development so far of our self-managing socialist society, and with the intention that this document should be as short and clear as possible. The new constitution should be a more adequate expression of our orientation toward the building of a modern and efficient state in which all the institutions of society will serve the successful development of the economy, science, and culture, and realization of the democratic rights and freedoms of working people and citizens.

Young comrade officers,

I wish you much success in the responsibile calling you have chosen. You are young people whose creative capacity is truly needed by society. The solution of the crisis which society finds itself in today largely rests with you and the young generation. Be worthy successors to the great work and example of the veterans of the national liberation war and previous generations of officers of our armed forces. Wherever you live and work, cultivate the idea and practice of peaceful coexistence of all nations and nationalities within the framework of our socialist federal state. We are sure that, continuing this tradition, you will help to find new solutions and contribute to their realization. In this way, the great strength, hitherto insufficiently utilized, of human potential, will gain full expression.

In your collectives, develop conscious military discipline and humane and comradely personal relations. Always bear in mind that, as Tito said, the basic strength of our defense lies in man, in his political consciousness, moral strength, and ability. We seek and expect of you that you will do everything in your power and make your contribution toward the combat readiness of the armed forces and to overcoming social problems. You are the custodians of the peace and security of our country.

Long live the YPA.

Long live the SFRY.

Bulk of Federal Budget Allocated for Army Use

AU2307204889 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Jul 89 p 1

[J. Kesic report: "Money From Federal Budget Has Been Allocated"]

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 18 Jul—It has been demonstrated again that it is much harder to collect than to distribute money. The Chamber of Republics and Provinces needed more than 2 weeks to reach an agreement to increase the federal budget and find new sources of funds, while the Federal Chamber today allocated these funds to the spending departments in record time.

The adjusted federal budget now stands at 61,249 billion dinars, of which 50,100 billion dinars (81.5 percent) is used for the state's so-called classical budget, and 11,000 billion dinars (18.5 percent) for the so-called extra-budgetary expenditure, which was included in the budget by recent amendments to the Law on Financing Federation.

The bulk of the federal budget money goes for financing the Yugoslav People's Army, 34,920 billion dinars or 57 percent; for disability and veterans' pensions, 7,000 billion dinars (or 11.4 percent); additional funds for insufficiently developed republics and Kosovo, 4,060 billion dinars (6.6 percent); and for the work of federal organs and organizations, 4,202 billion dinars (6.5 percent). [passage omitted]

The adjusted budget was adopted by a majority vote (three delegates were against it, and five abstained). [passage omitted]

Assembly President Views Inflation, Consequences

AU2107210989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1650 GMT 21 Jul 89

["President of Yugoslav Assembly on Inflation"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, July 21 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia's inflation, the annual rate of which is nearing a figure of 1,300 percent, could with its destructive consequences and increasing social and political tension, seriously endanger the economic and social reforms, president of the Yugoslav Assembly Slobodan Gligorijevic warned in today's interview published in the Belgrade daily POLITIKA EKSPRES.

There is great dissatisfaction with the existing economic situation. Protests can be heard daily, and it is difficult to forecast in what forms they could appear in different parts of the country, Gligorijevic said, at the same time pointing to the responsibility borne by the Yugoslav Government and Assembly, who are at the receiving end of this dissatisfaction.

Explaining the decision to open a debate on the economic situation in the Assembly this autumn, Gligorijevic said that this was being done for a number of reasons, notably the obligation to the public for an analysis to be made of the effects of the economic policy measures implemented and the consequences of the enormous rate of inflation. The workers, too, demand this of the parliament, he said.

Gligorijevic maintains that it is actually unnecessary to explain why a debate will be opened in September on inflation, as it represents the most prominent, most formidable and most dangerous problem of today's Yugoslavia, and, he said, even of our socialism.

The situation is grave and extremely serious, Gligorijevic said, illustrating his statement with the facts that industrial production prices had in the first six months of the year grown by 688.2 percent, retail prices by 580.1 percent, the the cost of living by 541.1 percent in comparison with the same period of 1988. According to the latest data, the annual rate of inflation in Yugoslavia currently stands at 652.2 percent, he pointed out.

SAWPY Presidium Protests Price Increases

LD2407133589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1133 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Jul (TANJUG)—The Socialist Alliance of Working People is resolutely against the malignantly excessive rise in the prices of basic essential items. We resolutely assert that there are no objectively insurmountable reasons for these excessive price rises which are throwing millions of our citizens into despair and hopelessness, Bozidar Colakovic, a member of the Presidium of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yuguslavia [SAWPY] Federal Conference, stressed in today's talks with journalists on the current socio-economic situation in the country and the stances of the SAWPY Federal Conference in connection with this.

Colakovic stressed that the drastic and mindless price increases for bread, milk, cooking oil, and other things which constitute the most elementary conditions for the survival of citizens, are unfounded. If things go on like this, Bozidar Colakovic said, then the already threatening unforeseeable consequences which can put our political system in jeopardy are unavoidable.

Government Discusses Foreign Currency Market

LD2407203189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1747 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] [Placename indistinct] July 24 (TANJUG)—A reform of the tax system, a bill on securities, a bill on a money and a foreign-currency market, and also some open issues concerning the passage of a bill on foreign-currency transactions and a bill on foreign-trade transactions were discussed today during a meeting between Yugoslav Federal Premier Ante Markovic and the premiers of the Yugoslav republics and provinces.

The tax system reform, as the Federal Information Secrariat has reported, would give the federation significant powers in conducting the fiscal system policy, which would complete the creation of a new economic system. The planned changes in the tax system proceed from the need to adjust that system to the integral Yugoslav market. The reform is to be carried out in three stages over a period of five years, and its complex introduction will require changes in the federal Constitution.

The bill on securities deals with the conditions and manner of issue and the circulation of stocks, bonds, and other securities.

Committee Reveals Number of Political Prisoners

LD2407152289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1241 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Jul (TANJUG)—On 31 December 1988, there were 436 so-called political prisoners, Svetozar Zecar, deputy federal secretary for justice and adminstration, said in the SFRY Assembly today.

Of this number 336 individuals had been sentenced for counterrevolutionary crimes in regard to the Kosovo events, Zecar said in the Federal Chamber's Adminstration of Justice Comittee, following delegate Joze Susmelj's motion that the Assembly pass a law pardoning those who have been convicted for nonviolent political crimes.

In the course of the discussion, it was specified that this number comprises the individuals sentenced for the crimes against the bases of the socialist self-managing system (Article 15 of the SFRY criminal code), some of which are not considered so-called political crimes.

'Verbal Offenses' Not Imprisonable

LD2407152889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1302 GMT 24 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Jul (TANJUG)—In Yugoslav prisons there are no longer people who have been sentenced for so-called verbal offences as stipulated in Article 133 of the SFRY criminal law, said Zvetozar Zecar, deputy of the Federal Assembly.

He confirmed the statement in the Federal Chamber's Judicial Affairs Committee during a debate on the proposal of delegate Joze Susmelj that the federal chamber adopt a law pardoning those sentenced for nonviolent political criminal acts.

Civil Rights Activist Calls for Tourism Boycott

AU2507100789 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 24 Jul 89 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Torture on the Adriatic Island"]

[Excerpts] If Yugoslav civil rights activist Dobroslav Paraga (28) had his way, the beaches of the Yugoslav Adriatic coast would be completely empty in the future. Paraga calls on tourists to boycott Yugoslavia and on the West European countries to stop loans to Yugoslavia as a protest against the imprisonment of political prisoners and refusal to let people leave Yugoslavia. Paraga knows what he is talking about: Because he had advocated human rights in a petition, he was imprisoned on the "Barren Island" in the Adriatic Sea and seriously mistreated. Permission to go on a trip to the FRG and the United States, from where he wants to return to Yugoslavia within 2 weeks, was given only after the intervention of FRG President Richard von Weizsaecker, who received him recently. Our associate Ulrich Glauber interviewed Paraga. [passage omitted] Paraga, who founded a "Croatian Human Rights Committee" and now lives in the more liberal Slovene capital city of Ljubljana, thinks that the number of political prisoners in Yugoslavia is 2,500. In addition, 10,000 would-be emigrants are refused passports for political reasons. An evil role is played by psychiatry, which today in Yugoslavia is still used for disciplinary purposes as it was in the Soviet Union before perestroyka. Paraga refers to his own experiences in a Zagreb prison hospital, where as a mentally sane person he was locked up together with drug addicts and schizophrenics.

In Paraga's view, the Army and the intelligence service are forming a state within the state in Yugoslavia with its conflicts between the republics and the minorities, a state whose center nobody knows. Even government members in Belgrade were surprised by the Army's harsh actions in Kosovo. Only the Army and the intelligence service can guarantee to the ruling functionaries their privileges within the Yugoslav federation in view of the rising nationalism in Serbia, and the opposite trend toward pluralism in the republics of Slovenia and Croatia. Therefore, if the north-south conflict in the multination state escalates or the unrest in Kosovo flares up again, Paraga does not rule out the possibility of a putsch in Yugoslavia.

Markovic Speaks on Importance of Adriatic Highway

AU2107151889 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Jul 89 p 1

[G. Gojak report: "Route for the Following Century"]

[Text] Zagreb, 16 Jul—With a festive signing of the agreement, the first social joint-stock enterprise, Adriatic Superhighways, was founded today. Its task is to prepare and carry out all work connected with the implementation of one of the largest and most important projects in our country: the construction of an Adriatic superhighway along the Adriatic Sea from Trieste to Macedonia.

The agreement on this enterprise's formation, the first after the adoption of the new systemic laws (on enterprises, on banks...) was signed by the representatives of six work organizations (INA-Trade; Adriatic Club Yugoslavia; Business Community Ingra, Zagreb; the Brodosplit Composite Organization of Associated Labor; the Boris Kidric Light Metals Plant, Sibenik; and the Electrodes and Iron Alloys Plant of Sibenik), seven banks (of Istria, Split, Dubrovnik, Zadar, the Adriatic Bank of Sibenik, Jugobanka of Split, and the Basic Bank Kardeljevo of the Sarajevo Economic Bank), and the republican Self-Managing Interest Community for Roads of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, in whose premises in Zagreb the newly formed enterprise will have its seat. It will grow into a mixed joint-stock enterprise.

The first task of this social joint-stock enterprise—as its leaders Ante Skataretiko said—which is open to everyone, is to prepare a scheme for social organizations and persons, as well as juristic persons in the SFRY and the world, and to participate through shares in this major Yugoslav project, a project for the 21st century, so that the currently domestic enterprise will grow into a mixed joint-stock enterprise.

This job will also be followed by a consortium of banks set up for this occasion, the agreement having been signed today by the representatives of four banks: The Economic Bank of Zagreb, the Split Bank, the Rijeka Bank, and the Zagreb Bank. It also remains open to all other interested financial institutions.

Expressing his satisfaction at the amount of work completed in the past 5 months, during which time a coordination committee was set up to encourage and follow the preparations for the construction of an Adriatic superhighway, Ante Markovic (who attended primarily in his capacity as president of the coordination committee and only secondarily as president of the Federal

Executive Council) pointed out that the Adriatic superhighway project is certainly one of the biggest projects and of fundamental significance for the development of the country.

Passing through five republics and one province and through our country's least developed regions, the Adriatic superhighway opens an opportunity for them to join in the structural changes of our economy and to join, along with many other ancillary activities which should bring in much foreign exchange, in the normal functioning of labor and capital, and in the integrated world economic market, without which there is no unified Yugoslav market. Markovic said that this project has been approached in a new way from the very beginning, so that it may be realized in the market and not at a "conference table," so that it may be open to all those interested both at home and abroad, and so that it significantly helps the development of the economy, especially tourism and small businesses.

Deciding on the face value of the shares, which everybody will be able to buy, will allow the project to be realized on market principles. The proper work on the project is still ahead of us, as is the macroeconomic plan in the country to effect a qualitative change so that the negative inflationary trends may be reversed.

Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, on this occasion congratulated the representatives of the collectives present who have decided to form this first domestic joint-stock enterprise and the bank consortium, because they had taken the decision to be the pioneers in this great Yugoslav project. It remains for the reporter to remark that this first step in the great project of the Adriatic superhighway construction would not have been made had Ante Markovic not striven for it with great persistence, even when he was president of the Croatian Executive Council a few years ago and later when he was president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Croatia.

Markovic Talks to Kosovo Leaders in Pristina

LD1907231389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1027 GMT 19 Jul 89

[Excerpts] Pristina, 19 Jul (TANJUG)—Kosovo has a big advantage regarding inclusion in economic changes due to its developed basic production, to which small-scale enterprises for processing and finishing existing raw materials can be accrued. Kosovo's opportunity lies in changing an unfavorable economic structure by employing to the maximum these and other resources. This means, that we should fight to create new wealth instead of fighting over the distribution of the budget. Ante Markovic, Federal Executive Council [FEC] president, stressed this in the course of today's talks with members of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

Together with Markovic, the talks were attended by Aleksndar Mitrovic, FEC vice president, Branko Zekan, federal secretary for finances and Nazmi Mustafa, federal secretary for trade.

After arriving in Kosovo last night they had had talks with the top provincial leaders.

Beside members of the provincial Executive Council, leaders of the economic chamber and the largest collectives in Kosovo took part in today's talks. Together with the host, President of the Council Nikola Skrelki, briefed FEC representatives about a very serious, even dramatic, situation in the Kosovo economy. Garip Hadzini, provincial secretary for finances, noted in particular the insolvency of banks and the economy as a whole, as well as the consequences of economic indebtness. [passage omitted]

The FEC representatives, especially Federal Secretary for Finances Branko Zekan and FEC Vice President Aleksandar Mitrovic, explained in detail the federal government's measures, as well as those to be undertaken in next few months within the framework of changes in the economic system. At the same time, the shortening of the envisaged time for adopting the new laws on enterprises and recovering exchange rate disparities ws assessed positively.

Vice President Mitrovic was the most specific in criticizing the situation in Kosovo. Pointing out that as a result of political problems too, the situation in Kosovo is the most difficult in the country, Mitrovic noted that the graver the crisis, the clearer it is that bad policies in the economy, intranational relations and the reproduction of the population have been followed. [passage omitted]

Stressing that the FEC has made enormous efforts to create the systemic prerequisites to form a new economic system, and to transform the state which acquires a different role, rights and duties in such a system, Markovic added that time is the FEC's greatest enemy. Time, he noted, enables opponents, conservatives, ultra-leftists and other forces which do not accept the system to consolidate themselves, that is all those forces which have had great privileges under the old system and which we expect to reorganize themselves in the struggle against this new system and its proponents.

We have reached a situation, Markovic added, where everyone is looking for assistance, everyone is seeking funds from the National Bank of Yugoslavia's printing works, while we have inflation which will continue to escalate to a level which will jeopardize everything that we are doing, everything that we have succeeded in doing so far. We need real new money, new accumulation, and real sources of such money. Otherwise everything else that is done will be counterproductive to what we have decided on, and that is the significant increase in the efficiency of our economy, productivity, the creation of new income, said Ante Markovic among other things, in his talks with the members of the Executive Council and

economic leaders in Kosovo. The FEC president and his colleagues then had talks in Titova Mitrovica with representatives of the Trepca combine.

Article Views 'Propaganda War' Against Serbia

AU2307194289 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Jul 89 p 5

[Dragan Radevic commentary: "Sowers of Fear and Hatred"]

[Text] The polarization between the peoples and nationalities in our country caused by nationalism has been increasing at an accelerating rate and is leading toward the limits of national intolerance. It is therefore indisputable that Yugoslavia is experiencing the biggest and the most serious crisis in interethnic relations since the war. One can therefore rightly ask: Who is inflaming and stoking this crisis? For whose purposes and interests is this done? Who is being attacked in this intentional insanity and who should defend himself? And who are the attackers, the sowers of fear and hatred, schism and divisions?

The northern, more developed republics have been waging a deliberate and strange propaganda war against Serbia, the Serbian people, and the Serbian leadership since the eighth session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists [LC] of Serbia. So far all kinds of means have been used; the important thing was to besmirch Serbia. Never in the history of our country has one republic, its people, and its leadership been so much vilified, negated, scorned, and proclaimed all kinds of things by those who pride themselves on their cultural and civilizational achievements.

The Serbs are accused of unitarianism, centralism, populism, majoritarianism, and even fascism. The eighth plenum of the Serbian LC Central Committee, which defended and strengthened unity and broke with opportunism and lack of criticism, was immediately received with sharp criticism in Croatia and Slovenia. It was described as the "great purge," as the "chopping off of the Serbian princes' heads...." Since then, the struggle of the Serbian people and its leadership for the just aims, truth, justice, and equality of Serbia and a united Yugoslavia has caused much agitation. First it agitated the leading men of the already known unprincipled anti-Serbian and anti-Yugoslav coalition and then their executors and helping hands, and they were not just agitated by the media in the northwest of the country.

All of those who have been for a long time silently—and sometimes openly—approving the persecution and pogrom of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, those who have been leading us and led us into the situation in which we are at present, and those for whom time seems to have stopped a long time ago called the Serbian and the other peoples, the street, the horde, and the infuriated masses. They said this to the very nation to which they had profoundly sworn while they were climbing the ladders of the hierarchy of power. On the other hand, whenever the people were moving they knew where they were going. The time and events in Serbia, Vojvodina, and Montenegro proved the people to be right.

Despite this, the honor and dignity of the Serbian people is still being attacked with impudence and insolence. Their unblemished traditions and history are being trod on and negated. A special strategy has been used against Serbia in order to keep Yugoslavia in the state of long uncertainty.

This ominous spreading of chauvinist hatred toward the Serbian people and inflaming an anti-Serbian propaganda war culminated during the celebration of St. Vitus' Day in Kosovo.

In the case of Jasenovac, the number of dead was grossly underestimated, while in the case of Gazi Mestan, using a similar progression, it was the number of the living that was underestimated. The magnificent celebration that had a general Yugoslav character was described as "infuriating Serbian nationalism"; Slobodan Milosevic's speech of peace, brotherhood, and harmony was proclaimed the speech of discord and aggression. Various imputations were made although everything was obvious, there was not a single incident, and everything was alright. There was yet another heavy avalanche of accusations and lies at the expense of the numerically greatest nation which was forced to hide its great, honorable, and heroic past until almost yesterday.

This is certainly the repeat of the not so distant past, when the Serbian people were criticized for defending themselves in Kosovo 600 years ago rather than defending European civilization. History and time will show who had been bothered in the past by this and many other things from the glorious history of the Serbian liberation wars. Who is still bothered by this today is more than obvious.

What is also clear is the fact that some of the defeated forces at the eighth plenum of the Serbian LC Central Committee have joined the game. This is not surprising because they and their mentors from the northwest were frightened to death by the emergence of the people on the political scene in Serbia, as well as by the real unity of this nation and its leadership. Today, they are working very hard to turn the wheel of history back to the old state of affairs.

Their efforts are in vain. The situation in Serbia and Yugoslavia will never be the same again, and this is good for Serbia and Yugoslavia, and for people and democracy.

The call for harmony and brotherhood that was heard on St. Vitus' Day in Kosovo was answered with a call for hatred and disharmony in the northwest. Last weekend, again in Kosovo, but this time in Kosovo in the Knin region, it looked as if the sowers of hatred could not wait to cause new suspicion and divisions in interethnic relations.

The reports from this celebration, especially those of Zagreb Television and VJESNIK, were a typical example of abusing the media and placing information in the context of its well-known politicking games with the public. The reports only commented on a "militant group that was sent and thrown in from outside," on religious symbols, the songs that can be abused.... VJESNIK's report was entitled "Dignity in the Shadow of Hatred," although the paper did not produce even a single proof of that hatred.

The Serbian people in that part of our country—why should this not be said—have been aware of their cultural and national identity for a long time. The "Croatian literary language" has been imposed on Serbs in the last 15 years, while the Cyrillic script is only taught up to the third grade. The Serbian people could not voice their protest about it anywhere. In Knin, Kosovo, there was nothing like a pure Serbian celebration, as is claimed. Nobody attacked Yugoslavia, nor was hatred expressed toward any other people. Individual irresponsible and unacceptable events cannot be generalized. However, such individual incidents are not the aim of these attacks. Deliberately linking the participation of some of these people in the rallies in Serbia with this celebration is used as yet another opportunity to launch an attack on Serbia, its people, its leadership, and its reforms. This game is now well known and too transparent not to be understood.

Strangely, similar things are also done in the Croatian political forums as if the people in these forums did not know what our common fate is. For instance, the Croatian LC Central Committee Presidium is talking about "proven nationalist groups which are acting from the great Serbian positions and which have come to realize the process of national divisions." The highest party organ of Croatia insists on a quick and efficient act by the legal and prosecution organs. There is no doubt that this is very efficient, but it also comes from those who preach democracy. We do not recall that they reacted so resolutely and so quickly at any time when Albanian nationalists and separatists tried to overthrow Yugoslavia in Kosovo, let alone when they carried out genocide against Serbs and Montenegrins.

The culmination of this special kind of farce is the conclusions of the Split LC City Committee which demand the president of the Serbian Presidency to comment on the use of his pictures with some unacceptable symbols, saying that it is "high time that the Communists of Serbia clearly dissociate themselves from nationalist frenzy in their ranks."

Regarding the use and abuse of the pictures of the president of the Serbian Presidency, he has, if the Split Communists can recall, clearly expressed and explained his views about that a long time ago. The fact that the people carry the pictures and badges of those who they like, respect, and believe in is not some kind of Serbian model, nor is it a sin.

The assertion of the Split Communists concerning nationalist frenzy among the Serbian Communists, which has not been proved in anyway, is also dangerous. What seems to be important is to stick the labels of nationalism according to the old, well-proven method, the method that has been successfully used in this country for a long time. We are fortunate that these times are long gone, and that such imputations do not work any longer.

The kinds of attitudes the Serbian Communists and the Serbian people have had and have toward Serbian nationalists are well known. Moreover, nobody is threatened in Serbia because he is not a Serb. It is another matter that a united and equal Serbia obviously does not suit those who have for a long time been disinterestingly watching the drama concerning Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo, who have been claiming that Albanians are second class citizens, and who still think that the AVNOJ-based [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] Yugoslavia was defended in Stari Trg. However, this is their problem.

The best answer to all of this was given by the Serbian Communists at the end of last week when they discussed this issue. The policy of divisions and national inequality cannot survive in this country. The freedom of every nation and nationality is the condition for common freedom, and a socialist federal Yugoslavia is the condition and presupposition for the freedom of every nation and nationality.

There cannot be and there will not be progress and happiness in our interethnic relations as long as Serbia and Serbian people are so impudently accused and attacked.

Report on Bosnian, Serbian Republics Meeting

AU2407192189 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Jul 89 p 4

[Maristela Lucic report: "We Are Not a Pointer on the Scales of Divisions"]

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, 18 Jul—The broader public and the last session of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Bosnia-Hercegovina demanded that a detailed report be compiled on the recent talks between the delegations of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina held in Sarajevo on 30 June of this year. The public was informed about this meeting by means of an official statement.

The Bosnian Presidency compiled a 17-page long detailed report, or, as it calls it, notes. As is already known, the report states that the talks were held on the topical political questions, the economic situation, and the role of the public information media.

Obrad Piljak, president of the Bosnian Presidency, the report states, briefed the guests on the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina and stressed, inter alia, that a cadre change in this republic was carried out in a democratic, legal, and institutional manner. He also said that such processes are not viewed in the same way in every part of the country. Piljak also said that Bosnia-Hercegovina does not want to take part in the divisions in a way that would make it appear to be a pointer on the scales. According to him, the most important question that is currently being raised and presented as the greatest obligation and responsibility in Bosnia-Hercegovina, is the question concerning the defense of the attained achievements in interethnic relations.

Damaging Theses

Is some kind of anti-Serbian mood really being fostered in Bosnia-Hercegovina, its leadership, general Bosnian politics, and public life? There have been many such public reproaches recently. We would like to explain where they come from, what they rely on, and what kind of reproaches they are. Of course, we do not accept any arbitrary assessments that the Bosnian leadership, or any part of it, has betrayed the policy of equality and brotherhood and unity, Obrad Piljak said.

Attempts are also being made to demonstrate in a tendentious way that the members of the Bosnian leadership are deeply divided, according to nationality, on some issues concerning the situation in Kosovo and Serbia. The thesis about a possibility of the people "entering the political stage" in Bosnia-Hercegovina, in the way it happened in Montenegro and Vojvodina, is continuously being mentioned. Recently there have also been attempts to prove that through a tendentiously conducted policy, the development of the Serb inhabited regions in Bosnia-Hercegovina has been neglected in relation to the development in the regions inhabited by Croats and Muslims. Another thesis that is being promoted is the one about the need for the members of the so-called "main nationalities" to organize themselves in the regions in which they live, that is to say outside their "parent republics".

If the practice of people assembling according to their nationality, or founding special national institutions and organizations, even if they only have a sport or cultural character, is accepted in Bosnia, this would mean going back several decades, negating the fundamental achievements of the socialist revolution, and breaking up the painfully won right to live in brotherhood and unity in this republic, to live freely and on equal footing, regardless of one's nationality or religion. After Obrad Piljak's speech, the report cites the main points of the speech made by Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian Presidency. [passage omitted]

During their meeting, the Serbian and Bosnian delegations also discussed the public information media and negative tendencies that have been noticed in their work. The report states, inter alia, that the situation and political action in Bosnia-Hercegovina is considerably influenced by the tendentious, incorrect, and inaccurate reporting in the newspapers promoted in this republic. It is therefore understandable why there is a more emphatic interest in the editorial policies of Serbian newspapers, particularly that of POLITIKA. The report states that the editorial policies of the newspapers whose founder is the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Serbia, have been noticed to have four tendencies that refer to the alleged imperilment of Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina and belittling a democratic process and cadre renewal in this republic. The tendency toward selecting reports on the alleged alienation of the Bosnian leadership from the people and the continuous stirring up of mistrust is also evident. The nationality problem is also insisted upon in an inadequate and tendentious way.

This report adds, inter alia, that Serbia is exposed to a crazed propaganda campaign and the pressure of some newspapers and journalists, something that is also evident in Bosnia. The report also states that during the talks in Sarajevo, the names of some journalists and titles of some articles published in AS, VALTER, and OSLOBODJENJE were also mentioned. Otherwise, the Serbian delegation rejected the existence of the above-mentioned tendencies in POLITIKA, POLITIKA EKSPRES, and their editorial policies. The delegation also proposed more frequent contacts so that misunderstandings could be avoided. The report states that BORBA and its involvement in various affairs in Bosnia-Hercegovina was also mentioned.

BORBA Views Alternative Political Parties

AU2407211389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Jul 89 p 3

[D. Draskovic report: "The Struggle for Power Is Flaring Up"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 17 Jul—Under Presern's monument or on the square, which are the busiest pedestrian areas in Ljubljana, you will come across a man with a megaphone who will exhaustively and at length try to convince you of the need to sign the "May Declaration." He stresses that as a good Slovene you can in no way sign two declarations, which means in other words that you shun Smole's "Slovenia 1989 Basic Charter." If you remain in front of the man with the megaphone for a while longer you will also hear who is to blame for everything that is happening in the country today, and particularly for the catastrophic state of the economy and the lack of human rights and civil liberties.

Even though this is not written on either the man's forehead or the man's megaphone, the speaker belongs to the Slovene Democratic Alliance, whose members are as time goes by the most important representatives of the alternative political scene. That is, those who have contributed most to Joze Smole remaining without a coalition and the "Basic Charter" being signed by only

the Socialist Alliance. The "Democrats" successfully held a congress in Maribor and there painlessly transferred power from Dimitrij Rupel to Hubert Pozarnik. The former is now "only" the editor of the DEMOKRACIJA newspaper which in no way purports to be the newspaper of the "Democrats" but a normal, although independent, weekly.

A Leader With a High-Pitched Voice

In contrast to them, Tomsic's "Social Democrats" are increasingly overshadowed by Rupel's adherents who have already managed to ask for money from the joint purse to implement their political programs and to cover everyday expenses. The public chewed over Tomsic's demands for a Slovene army a long time ago. It have been increasing unofficial announcements that he is an ideal strike leader but is a very bad party leader, that he is too biased and, for a social democratic leader, incorrigibly bathetic. Because of his high-pitched voice, he sometimes resembles a dealer in agitprop. Perhaps this is only one of the reasons why 1 month ago he was abandoned by some well-known Ljubljana intellectuals and last week in a real "conflict of factions" he remained without the support of Uros Susteric, president of the Council of Social Democrats.

One says that the Social Democrats lack a president of the party's council, although the word party has difficulty rolling off the tongue or the page. Therefore, parties are now almost totally directed toward elections and they adhere to republican programs which, whether they like it or not, all shoot one after another at disreputable homogenization, not of the sort shown at meetings but of the supranational sort nonetheless. Leaving all that to one side, the well-known second point of the "May Declaration" which unambiguously shows the stand of its signatories regarding Yugoslavia is being supplemented even in Slovenia.

Not even the members of the Christian Social Movement look no further than the Sutla. They have announced that they have exchanged views with some like minded people in Croatia, but they are far from more seriously discussing an approach containing common stands. For now everything is being played out in the region below the Alps and it seems that "Yugoslavism" is being left as an unpleasant subject to official politicians who will have to face the voters at next year's elections in this no-man's land.

This is probably where the agility of the Social Democratic Alliance comes from to use the basic charter to, as soon as possible, sort out what sort of Yugoslavia people want to live in and what sort of Yugoslavia they do not want to live in.

The Yugoslav Democratic Alliance, which is the newest of the alternative movements, also has Yugoslavism in its program, but the question is what strength and how much strength the followers of Matjaz Anzuraj have and whether they will have any at all considering that there was barely 30 people, not counting journalists, at the founding meeting of this alliance. Even if they do survive, will the infamous federal slogan of "one man one vote" be imposed on them?

One Cannot Play With Paid Professionals

The "Greens" seem to be the clearest in this respect. They have from the beginning called themselves a party and believe that their place is in the republican assembly. They do not have a predetermined view either for or against alternative coalitions, however they want to put forward their own candidate at the elections. They believe that everyone who receives at least five percent of the votes should be in the Assembly. Here their place would be in the general chamber, that is in the chamber which will emerge from a reformed sociopolitical chamber. Their first assembly tasks are to stop polluters from being able to sell their products on the market and to close the Krsko nuclear power plants by 1995 and not 2010.

The "Basic Charter" has most support in the Socialist Alliance. The question is hardly asked of where the alternative movements have disappeared to because they are not in the "Basic Charter" but the question is, are they only formally under the "umbrella of Socialist Alliance of Working People." Another question is whether the formulation "everyone within the framework of the Socialist Alliance" will continue to be viewed as necessary for the founding of new alliances since a respected member of its presidium, in an isolated case, last month announced the possibility of the Socialist Alliance putting forward its own candidate at the elections. No one dissociated themselves from this stand and one can only guess whether a party of "socialists" will appear at the elections alongside the "parties" of Communists and young people.

However, comments have already been made by the "Greens" who think that the elections cannot be proper elections if the question of the equality of the political programs, which the alliances will officially support, is not cleared up. The Greens believe that the Socialist Alliance cannot be both the coordinator of the preparations for the elections and one of the active participants which compete in them. In other words, it cannot compete with a team of paid professionals which the others do not have.